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TRANSACTIONS

AND

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

1908

VOLUME XXXIX

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

1908

I — *On the Use of the Dactyl after an Initial Trochee in Greek Lyric Verse*

By Prof. EDWARD H. SPIEKER

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

In the well-known passage of the *Frogs*, 1309 ff., in which Aristophanes makes Aeschylus present a sample of Euripides' style in the composition of lyrics, there occurs a line which at first sight seems to be an ordinary logaoedic line, and which, except for the fact that it may be regarded as having either four feet or five feet, is not likely to attract attention. The line in question is 1313, and it reads as follows: —

αἱ θ' ὑπωρόφιοι κατὰ γωνίας — ⏑ | ⏑̄ ⏑ | ⏑̄ ⏑ | ⏑̄ ⏑ |.

An examination of the following passage, which holds up to ridicule Euripides' treatment of monodies, reveals the fact that we have similar metrical conditions, with the addition of anacrusis, in line 1361: —

σὺ δ', ὦ Διός, διπύρους ἀνέχουσα ⏑ : — ⏑ | ⏑̄ ⏑ | ⏑̄ ⏑ | — ⏑ |.

Did Aristophanes, in writing these lines, have in mind only a general parody of Euripides' style, or was he thinking of the metre as well? In an effort to get a satisfactory answer to this question I was led to make a full examination of the use of the dactyl after an initial trochee, and the results of this study are offered in the following paper.

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In the history of Greek versification there is no more interesting condition than that which is presented in the twofold assimilation and union of the four-time and the three-time elements; of the tetraseme and the triseme; or, to take the representative feet themselves, of the dactyl and the trochee. In literature it is the four-time element which we meet first, and it shares honors with the other tetraseme, the spondee. Some time elapses before we meet the triseme, the trochee, and the iamb, although it must have been familiar to the people for a long time before Archilochus gave it the stamp of his approval. Then came the union of these two differing elements, and this union took place in two ways. In the one the dignity of the tetraseme is retained and the trochee is admitted to equal rights with the dactyl and the spondee; this gives us the dactylo-epitrite, so much used by Pindar; in the other the dactyl is made lighter, so as to adapt it to the triseme, and we thus get the familiar logaoedic forms of verse.

This union of the dactyl and the trochee was not made without some limitation to the use of the irrational element: for the dactylo-epitrite there must regularly be a spondee accompanying the trochee; in logaoedic verse there is at first a well-defined preference for the use of only one dactyl. Certain it is that the monodactylic logaoedic lines are among the most extensively used in Greek poetry, especially the four-foot line, the so-called Glyconic, and the three-foot line, the Pherecratean. The two-foot Adonic is too short to assure it a very extended use, although Sappho and Horace have made it very familiar to the modern reader. The three five-foot lines, the Sapphic, the Alcaic, and the Phalaecean, complete the series.

The extreme simplicity and beauty of these verses must appeal at once to every one. Nothing could be more beautifully regular in its simplicity than the Sapphic verse, with its central dactyl flanked by two trochees (with occasional spondee) on either side, and the same may be said of the Alcaic, which differs from the Sapphic only in the shifting of the syllable at the end to the anacrustic position at the begin-

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ning. One is reminded of the simplicity and regularity which we meet elsewhere in Greek art, especially in architecture; it is, in fact, typically Greek. Compare now with this the epichoriambic explanation of the Sapphic given by Hephaestion, — ∪ — ∪ | — ∪ ∪ — | ∪ — —, and the antispastic explanation of the other monodactylic lines, including the other five-foot line, the Phalaecean (each line being supposed to begin with an antispast, ∪ — — ∪, with a generous range of substitutions allowed in the first foot). Next to the inherent improbability that the Greeks would have allowed so grotesque a combination as a fundamental element in their verse, this very simplicity and beauty of the lines, when regarded as logaoedic, is the most cogent argument conceivable against the whole doctrine of the antispast. It must have had its birth in the effort to account for the nerve-racking dochmiac, and to find some general category in which it might be placed.

But if this tendency to use only one dactyl in logaoedic lines was the original use, the number of dactyls allowed certainly increased very soon; so much so, in fact, that at times the dactyl dominates the verse. There seems, however, to have been at all times one restriction to this free use of the dactyl. After an initial trochee, alone or with anacrusis, in Greek lyric verse there seems to have been a definite avoidance of the use of more than one dactyl in the kolon. The exceptions to this tendency are the following familiar types: —

(1) Aeolic dactylic lines in which a trochee is used in the first foot. This is only one phase of the free treatment of the initial foot in these lines. (This free use of ordinarily incompatible elements at the opening of a line may have led the Greek writers on metrics to adopt the antispast as a basic element in the composition of Greek verse.) Aeolic influence is evident in Simonides Ceius,

1, 9: *κόσμον ἀέναόν τε κλέος* — ∪ | — ∪ ∪ | — ∪ ∪ | — ∧ |,

and

46: *ἔσχατον δύεται κατὰ γᾶς* — ∪ | — ∪ ∪ | — ∪ ∪ | — ∧ |.

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Both of these are similar to the lines of Aristophanes cited above. The same influence is probable in Pind. *Pyth.* 11, 1: Κάδμου κόραι, Σεμέλα μὲν Ὀλυμπιάδων ἀγυιᾶτις; perhaps, too, in Telestes, 3, 4: χεῖρα καμψιδίαυλον ἀναστρωφῶν τάχος. If Bergk's reading of Simonides Ceius, 22, 5, εἶπέ τ' · ὦ τέκος, οἷον ἔχω πόνον — ∪ | ⏑ ∪ | ⏑ ∪ | ⏑ ∪ |, were right, this would be another example.

(2) Dactylo-epitrite lines opening with the epitrite. Probably the original use involved a separation into more than one kolon. The familiar type, — ∪ | — — | — ∪ ∪ | — ∪ ∪ | — ∧ |, is found in logaoedic verse also. This logaoedic adaptation of Doric material is found in the lyric poets and in the dramatists. Of the latter, Euripides uses it most, Aeschylus not at all. Pindar naturally uses it rarely, the regular Doric use being so largely represented in his odes; still, we find, *Ol.* 13, 18 (second line of the epode): ταὶ Διωνύσου πόθεν ἐξέφανεν — ∪ | — > ‖ ⏑ ∪ | ⏑ ∪ | — ∧ |.

(3) Lines beginning with a cretic, or with a trochee and a choriamb, often show more than one dactyl. In many cases such lines are clearly to be divided into two or more kola. Editors are frequently not in accord as to the division. Whenever such lines cannot be divided, it is probable that the allowance of more than one dactyl was due to an extension of the original use, in which the dactyls were in different kola. An initial cretic is itself often followed by one or more choriambs, *e.g.*: —

Soph. *Ant.* 783: φοιτᾷς ὑπερπόντιος ἔν τ' ἀγρονόμοις αὐλαῖς
> ⋮ — ∪ | ⊔ ‖ ⏑ ∪ | ⊔ | ⏑ ∪ | ⊔ | ⊔ | — ∧ |.

Aristoph. *Cl.* 950: νῦν δείξετον τὼ πισύνω τοῖς περιδεξίοισι
> ⋮ — ∪ | ⊔ ‖ ⏑ ∪ | ⊔ | ⏑ ∪ | — ∪ | — ∪ |.

An interesting case of this type is found in Aesch. *Suppl.* 60. Here Schmidt reads, δοξάσει τιν' ἀκούειν ὄπα τᾶς; Dindorf, δοξάσει τιν' ἀκούειν ὄπα τᾶς Τηρείας. Schmidt's arrangement certainly offers a strikingly regular combination: three choriambs; four trochaic feet; trochee + two choriambs (the line in question); three choriambs; four trochaic feet.

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A line like Pind. *Pyth.* 7, 17 (the last of the epode), *θάλλοισαν εὐδαιμονίαν τὰ καὶ τὰ φέρεσθαι*, is scanned by Schmidt as an hexapody, > : ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ | ⏒ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ | ⏒ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ |; Schneidewin divides into two separate lines. Assuming that it is one line, we may perhaps get the right conception by studying a type like *Pyth.* 2, 21 :—

θεῶν δ' ἐφετμαῖς Ἰξίονα φαντὶ ταῦτα βροτοῖς ⏑ : ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ‖ ⏑ > |
⏒ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ‖ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ∧ |.

Here there can be no doubt that the first or the last cretic must be separated from the rest; perhaps both, as the line is scanned by Gildersleeve.

The exceptional use of two dactyls in several Phalaecean lines of the skolia only serves to call attention to the rule, for these lines have only one dactyl, except where the necessity of using the names Harmodios and Aristogeiton causes the irregularity. The lines containing two dactyls are:—

7, 2: *ὥσπερ Ἁρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων.*

The line is repeated in 9, 2.

10, 2: *φίλταθ' Ἁρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων.*

In addition to the three typical exceptions given above there are some sporadic exceptions to the rule, and these we shall now consider. Here again we must observe that editors do not always agree as to the proper arrangement of the lines, so that one text may present an example which is not to be found in others. In such cases we may at least be in doubt, unless there are cogent reasons for accepting a line which gives us more than one dactyl after an initial trochee. So, *e.g.*, Schmidt reads, Soph. *Oed. Col.* 237: *ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ γεραὸν πατέρα* ⏑ ⏑ | ⏒ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏒ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ∧ |, the arrangement being different in other texts. In view of the fact that Sophocles has no undoubted example of a similar violation of the rule, it is only fair to assume that Schmidt is wrong in his arrangement of the lines. So, too, he reads in the *Antigone*, 1149: *παῖ Διὸς γένεθλον προφάνηθ'*, with the scansion ⏑ ⏑ | ⏒ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏒ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ∧ |. Here again the arrangement is not certain; but even

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if we accept Schmidt's line, it is clearly better to take the reading Δῖον proposed by Seyffert, or Ζηνός, suggested by Bothe.

In Euripides there are two lines which seem to be certain. They are: *Electra*, 439, κοῦφον ἅλμα ποδῶν Ἀχιλῆ — ⏑ | ⏒ ⏑ | ⏒ ⏑ | — ∧ |, and *ib.* 449, ἱππότας τρέφεν Ἑλλάδι φῶς — ⏑ | ⏒ ⏑ | ⏒ ⏑ | — ∧ |. These two examples make some of the following possible, especially the first two; all of them, however, are doubtful.

Herc. Fur. 889, Schmidt reads: ὠμόβρωτες ἀποινόδικοι, and scans — ⏑ | ⏒ ⏑ | ⏒ ⏑ | — ∧ |. Other texts differ. Even if we adopt Schmidt's reading, the initial foot may be regarded as a spondee.

Iph. Aul. 791, ῥῦμα δακρυόεν τανύσας, Schmidt scans — ⏑ | ⏒ ⏑ | ⏒ ⏑ | — ∧ |, but it is equally possible to scan the second foot as a tribrach. The preceding line makes this all the more probable. There we have: τίς ἄρα μ' εὐπλοκάμους κόμας ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏒ ⏑ | — ⏑ | — ∧ |. Such shifting in the relative position of the same feet in successive lines is not unfamiliar.

Herc. Fur. 895: βοτρύων ἐπὶ χεύμασι λοιβᾶς; Schmidt scans — ⏑ | ⏒ ⏑ | ⏒ ⏑ | — ⏑ |, but it is more likely that the scansion ⏑ ⏑ ⁝ ⏒ ⏑ | ⏒ ⏑ | ⏖ | — ∧ | is right.

Ib. 908, Schmidt reads: ὡς ἐπ' Ἐγκελάδῳ ποτὲ Παλλάς, εἰς δόμους πέμπεις — ⏑ | ⏒ ⏑ | ⏒ ⏑ | — > ‖ — ⏑ | ⏖ | ⏖ | — ∧ |. Nauck puts ὡς on the preceding line. But in all probability Schmidt is right. The line would thus be like Pindar, *Pyth.* 11, 1, cited above (page 8).

Iph. Taur. 845, ὦ Κυκλωπίδες ἑστίαι, ὦ πατρίς, Schmidt scans — ⏑ | ⏒ ⏑ | ⏒ ⏑ | — ⏑ | — ∧ |, thus making a pentapody. The line is in a komma between two dochmiacs, and as Euripides not infrequently has pentapodies in this position, Schmidt is probably right; it is possible, however, to assume a pause before ὦ πατρίς, followed as it is by Μυκήνα φίλα.

Ion, 231, ἔχω μαθοῦσα· θεοῦ δὲ νόμον, Schmidt scans ⏑ ⁝ — ⏑ | ⏒ ⏑ | ⏒ ⏑ | — ∧ |. Here Nauck puts the second half on the following line. If we accept Schmidt's reading, it is more likely that θεοῦ is to be scanned as one syllable.

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Orestes, 1465, *ἀ δ' ἀνίαχεν, ἴαχεν, ὤμοι μοι*, is scanned by Schmidt ⏑ | ⏑⏑ | ⏑⏑ | ⏑ > | ⏑ ∧ |, making the initial *ι* of the verb long by augment. As Homer allows both the long and the short vowel in this tense of the verb (cf. *Il.* xvii, 317 and xviii, 29), and as the next verb in the Euripidean passage omits the augment, we are justified in saying that Euripides probably meant to use the short vowel in the first verb. That he had in mind the long vowel for the second verb, thus alternating the quantities, is made likely by the other pentapody of the komma: *φυγᾷ δὲ ποδὶ τὸ χρυσεοσάνδαλον* ⏑ ⁝ ⏑ | ⏑⏑⏑ | ⏑⏑ | ⏑ | ⏑ ∧ |.

Phoen. 128, *γίγαντι γηγενέτᾳ προσόμοιος* ⏑ ⁝ ⏑ | ⏑⏑ | ⏑⏑ | ⏑ |. Here Seidler reads: *γίγαντί τε γηγενέτᾳ προσόμοιος*, and Nauck comments: "an *γίγαντι* delendum?"

In Pindar we find six undoubted instances, four occurring in the same ode, each being the same line of the epode (practically one example); the other two are from the fragments. They are the following:—

Ol. 9, 29, 59, 89, 119 (each example is the seventh line of the epode). Line 29 reads: *ἐξαίρετον Χαρίτων νέμομαι κᾶπον*, > ⁝ ⏑ | ⏑⏑ | ⏑⏑ | ⏑ | ⏑ |.

Fragm., Prosodia, 3, 3, *λίσσομαι Χαρίτεσσί τε καὶ σὺν Ἀφροδίτᾳ* ⏑ | ⏑⏑ | ⏑⏑ | ⏑ | ⏑ | ⏑ |.

Fragm., ἐξ ἀδ. εἰδῶν, 22, *δενδρέων δὲ νόμον Διόνυσος πολυγαθὴς αὐξάνοι* ⏑ | ⏑⏑ | ⏑⏑ | ⏑ ‖ ⏑⏑ | ⏑ > | ⏑ | ⏑ ∧ |. This line unquestionably shows the influence of the familiar Doric type.

The other examples in Pindar are more or less doubtful. Many seeming examples are clearly to be divided, *e.g.*, lines 3–5 of the strophe in *Ol.* 9, which are made up each of a Glyconic + an Adonic. Line 3 reads: *ἄρκεσε Κρόνιον παρ' ὄχθον ἀγεμονεῦσαι* ⏑ | ⏑⏑ | ⏑ | ⏑ ‖ ⏑⏑ | ⏑ |. Similar conditions are found in *Nem.* 4, 1 and *Isthm.* 7, 8 (eighth line of the strophe). *Nem.* 4, 1 reads: *ἄριστος εὐφροσύνα πόνων κεκριμένων*, ⏑ ⁝ ⏑ | ⏑⏑ | ⏑ | ⏑ ‖ ⏑⏑ | ⏑ ∧ |. *Isthm.* 7, 8: *μήτ' ἐν ὀρφανίᾳ πέσωμεν στεφάνων* ⏑ | ⏑⏑ | ⏑ | ⏑ ‖ ⏑⏑ | ⏑ ∧ |.

Pyth. 2, 6 (sixth line of the strophe): *τηλαυγέσιν ἀνέδησεν*

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if we accept Schmidt's line, it is clearly [illegible]
reading **Δῖον** proposed by Seyffert, or Z[illegible]
Bothe.

In Euripides there are two lines which [illegible]
They are: *Electra*, 439, **κοῖφον ἅλμα** [illegible]
[illegible], and *ib.* 449, **ἱππο-** [illegible]
[illegible]. These two [illegible]
of the following possible, especially the first [illegible]
however, are doubtful.

Herc. Fur. 880, Schmidt reads: **ὠμοδόρα-** [illegible]
scans [illegible]. Other [illegible]
we adopt Schmidt's reading, the initial [illegible]
as a spondee.

Iph. Aul. 791, **ῥῦμα δακρυόεν** [illegible]
[illegible], but it is equally [illegible]
the second foot as a tribrach. The [illegible]
this all the more probable. There we have [illegible]
εἰ-λοκάμους κόμας [illegible]
in the relative position of the same feet [illegible]
not unfamiliar.

Herc. Fur. 805: **βοτρύων ἐπὶ χειμαδ-** [illegible]
scans [illegible], but it is [illegible]
scansion [illegible] is [illegible]

Ib. 008, Schmidt reads: **ὡς ἐπ' Ἐυρω-** [illegible]
εἰς δόμους πέμπεις [illegible]
Nauck puts **ὡς** on the preceding line. [illegible]
Schmidt is right. The line would thus [illegible]
II. 1, cited above (page 8[illegible]

Ib. *Troad.* 845, **ὦ Κυκλωπιδες ἑστιάδες** [illegible]
scans [illegible], thus [illegible]
only. The line is in a komma between [illegible]
Euripides not infrequently has pentapodies [illegible]
Schmidt is probably right: it is possible [illegible]
a pause before **ὦ πα-ῖδες**, followed as it is [illegible]

Ion, 231, **ἔχω μαθεῖν· θεοὶ δὲ** [illegible]
[illegible]. Here N[illegible]
half on the following line. If we accept [illegible]
it is more likely that **θεοί** is to be scanned [illegible]

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ondee, or a
tion as we

⏑ ⏑ | — ⏑ ⏑ |

πέφευγα — > |

ις — > | — ⏑ ⏑ |

⏑ | — ⏑ ⏑ | — ⏑ ⏑ |

ς ὁρίσασα **πόντου**
— | — ∧ |.
λαβε ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | — ⏑ ⏑ |

κόμον ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | — ⏑ ⏑ |

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Ὀρτυγίαν στεφάνοις > ⁝ — ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | — ⏑ ‖ ⏑̄ ⏑ | ⏑̄ ⏑ | — ∧ |. This may be an hexapody, but is much more easily taken as two tripodies.

Pyth. 7, 13 (first line of the epode), *ὦ Μεγάκλεες, ὑμαί τε καὶ προγόνων* — ⏑ | ⏑̄ ⏑ | ⏖ ‖ — ⏑ | ⏑̄ ⏑ | — ∧ |. This is correctly divided by Gildersleeve into two tripodies, but Schmidt scans as an hexapody.

Nem. 3, 19 (third line of the epode), *εἰ δ' ἐὼν καλὸς ἔρδων τ' ἐοικότα μορφᾷ* — ⏑ | ⏑̄ ⏑ | ⏖ ‖ — ⏑ | ⏑̄ ⏑ | — ⏑ |. This is divided by Schmidt.

Still plainer is the division in *Isthm.* 7, 6 (sixth line of the strophe), *θυμόν, αἰτέομαι χρυσέαν καλέσαι* — ⏑ | ⏑̄ ⏑ | ⏖ ‖ — ⏑ | ⏑̄ ⏑ | — ∧ |. Everything in this case points to a division of the line; yet Schmidt scans it as an hexapody.

Fragm. Dith. 3, 14, *εὔοδμον ἐπαΐωσιν ἔαρ φυτὰ νεκτάρεα* > ⁝ — ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ‖ ⏑̄ ⏑ | ⏑̄ ⏑ | ⏑̄ ⏑ | — ∧ |. Similar to this is *Fragm. Hyporch.* 3, 2, *ἐπὶ θηρσὶ κύνα τρέφειν πυκινώτατον ἑρπετόν* ⏑ ⏑ ⁝ — ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ‖ ⏑̄ ⏑ | ⏑̄ ⏑ | — ⏑ | — ∧ |.

Fragm., *ἐξ ἀδ. εἰδῶν*, 13, *κατεκρίθη δὲ θνατοῖς ἀγανώτατος ἔμμεν*, ⏑ ⁝ — ⏑ | — ⏑ | ⏖ ‖ ⏑̄ ⏑ | ⏑̄ ⏑ | — ⏑ |; 24, 2, *σοί τε, καρτεροβρόντα Κρονίδα, φίλος δὲ Μοίσαις*, — ⏑ | ⏑̄ ⏑ | ⏖ ‖ ⏑̄ ⏑ | — ⏑ | — ⏑ | — ⏑ |.

In Aristophanes himself, if we do not count the two lines from the *Frogs* cited above, there are no exceptions to the rule.

Summing up, then, we find that with the exception of the three types mentioned (two of which in their origin were probably not exceptions) there are comparatively few lines in Greek lyric poetry in which an initial trochee is followed within the kolon by more than one dactyl, and that they are found in Pindar and Euripides, and in Simonides, if we count the two examples quoted from him. All of them may have been due to either Aeolic or Doric influence. In view of these facts it is altogether reasonable to suppose that Aristophanes had in mind the metre also when he wrote the two lines of the *Frogs*. Perhaps he knew of more such lines in Euripides than we do, but it is hardly probable that there were many.

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It may be added that if the initial foot is a spondee, or a dactyl, or even a tribrach, there is no such limitation as we have tried to show for the trochee; *e.g.*, —

Eur. *Hipp.* 164, ὠδίνων τε καὶ ἀφροσύνας — > | ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ | — ∧ |.

Orestes, 1369, Ἀργεῖον ξίφος ἐκ θανάτου πέφευγα — > | ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ | — ⏑ | ⏖ | — ∧ |.

Iph. Taur. 1106, ὦ πολλαὶ δακρύων λιβάδες — > | ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ | — ∧ |.

Ib. 1092, εὐξύνετον ξυνετοῖσι βοάν ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ | — ∧ |.

Med. 432, μαινομένᾳ κραδίᾳ, διδύμας ὁρίσασα πόντου ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ ‖ ⏑ ⏑ | — ⏑ | ⏖ | — ∧ |.

Iph. Aul. 180, Πάρις ὁ βουκόλος ἂν ἔλαβε ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ | — ∧ |.

Ib. 1087, παρὰ δὲ ματέρι νυμφοκόμον ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ | — ∧ |.

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II — *Roman Milestones and the Capita Viarum*

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With the recent appearance of the second fascicle of the second part of Vol. XIII of the Corpus of Latin Inscriptions, containing the milestones of the three Gauls and Germany, the publication of all known inscriptions of this class is practically complete, and a systematic study of Roman roads based partly upon these stones and partly upon the Tabula Peutingeriana, the Antonine, and other itineraries is made possible. This paper, however, does not attempt to deal with the whole question. It is confined to one point; namely, the system or systems employed in the numbering of the stones and the principle upon which this or that city, town, or other place was selected as the starting point or *caput* of the road. The study has been undertaken in the belief that we have in these milestone numbers important evidence bearing not only on the question of the imperial or local character of any given Roman road, but also indications of the relative importance of different places in various parts of Italy and the provinces. Further, so far as Italy is concerned, we get light on the nature of the relations existing between Rome and the municipia in the matter of the building and the care of the roads, and as regards the provinces we obtain information concerning the roads employed by the government in the [illegible]

I. Italy

In general Italy, the roads were built in most part numbered from [illegible] Capita viarum were [illegible] near [illegible] range from [illegible] early as the [illegible]

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Valentinian and Valens. With the exception of a few found on two different sections, all these stones are numbered from Rome only. On those parts of the road which show the exceptions we find in each case a system of double numbering. The first of these sections extends from Forum Appi to Terracina, and from its length was known as the *decennovium*. The earliest example of this double system is found on a stone going back to the time of the consul Gaius Claudius (184 B.C.), and marked both with the numeral LIII, *i.e.* millia passuum from Rome, and X, from Forum Appi.[1] There is no reason for supposing that the latter number was a later addition. The inscription is the first record of the construction of this part of the road which ran through the Pomptine marshes,[2] and which was one of the most troublesome sections of the highway. It was restored by Trajan,[3] who adhered to the same system of double numbering. We have stones belonging to his reign marked both from Forum Appi and from Rome as follows:[4] V (from Forum Appi), XLVIII (from Rome); VI (from Forum Appi), XLVIIII (from Rome); X (from Forum Appi), LIII (from Rome). Another system of double numbering is evidenced by two stones.[5] One of these belongs to the reign of Caracalla and is marked IIII and LXXI. The first numeral indicates that this was the fourth milestone on a section of 21 m. p. repaired by Caracalla, while the second gives the distance from Rome. The repaired section must have begun about halfway between Terracina and Fundi and ended at Formiae. The other stone bears the names of Diocletian and Maximian with the same numbering, IIII and LXXI.

On the Viae Latina, Labicana, and Praenestina,[6] also, the system of numbering from Rome prevails, some of the stones belonging to republican times and some to the reigns of late emperors. The farthest point from Rome indicated on any

[1] *CIL*, X, 6838.

[2] In Augustus' time, and perhaps also in the reign of Tiberius, travellers preferred to go by way of the canal which began at Forum Appi. Cf. Strabo, V, 3, 6; Horace, *Sat.* I, 5.

[3] Cf. *CIL*, X, 6835: Imp. Caesar divi Nervae filius Nerva Traianus . . . Trib. Pot. XIIII (*i.e.* A.D. 110) XVIIII silice sua pecunia stravit.

[4] *CIL*, X, 6833 ff. [5] *CIL*, X, 6854, 6855. [6] *CIL*, X, 6882 ff.

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stone belonging to the Via Latina proper is the 96th mile. It is noticeable, however, that the numbering from Rome persists even on the branch which diverges from the main road at Venafrum and runs through Aesernia to Beneventum.[1] On this branch we have a milestone of Augustus (2 B.C.), numbered CX, one of Maxentius, CVI, and one of uncertain date, CXVIIII. Likewise on the Via Salaria[2] not only the stones on the main road are numbered from Rome, but also those on the branch which leads from Interocrium to Interamnium (via Amiternum). Both republican and imperial stones attest the same system, as we see from such inscriptions as that of Caecilius Metellus (117 B.C.) marking the 119th mile from the city, that of Augustus (12/11 B.C.) the 123d mile, and that of Valentinian and Valens the 113th.

On the Via Tiburtina et Valeria[3] six out of the seven stones found are numbered from Rome. Among these six is included one of Trajan's time which marks the 38th mile; it belongs not to the main road, but to the Via Sublacensis which branches from the Valeria at the 35th milestone. The stone which constitutes an exception belongs to Claudius' reign (48/49) and marks the 43d mile. It is numbered from Cerfennia, the place at which in Tiberius' time the Valeria divided, one branch going to Corfinium, the other to Marruvium. Claudius continued the road from Corfinium to Ostia Aterni on the east coast of Italy, the miles being counted from the old junction Cerfennia.

Of the Via Flaminia[4] we have only five numbered stones: XXXIV (Julian), CXL (Valerius Maximinus), CLXXXVII (Constantius Maximus), CXCI (Diocletian), and CCXI (Maxentius)—all numbered from Rome. They are late, but there is little doubt that in republican times, also, the mileage on this road, which was to the north what the Via Appia was to the south, was counted from the capital. The continuation of the numbering even on branch roads, which we have noticed before, is found here also, *e.g.* on a stone that belongs to the Via Tiberina which branches from the Via Flaminia at Saxa Rubra and joins it again at Aqua Viva, passing near Nazzano, where

[1] *CIL*, IX, 5976 ff. [2] *CIL*, IX, 5943 ff. [3] *CIL*, IX, 5963 ff. [4] *CIL*, XI, 6616 ff.

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the stone was found. The number is XXX. Other examples are furnished by two stones numbered CXLI (Valentinian) and CLXXXIII (Maxentius), respectively. These were found on the road which branches from the Via Flaminia at Aesis and passes through Sentinum to Sena Gallica. Cf. also *CIL*, IX, 5936, CXLII (Vespasian), a stone of the Via Picena which diverges from the Flaminia at Nuceria.

On the other roads running north the numbered milestones are but few, and give us only scanty information. Moreover, none of them is earlier than the reign of Trajan. The analogy of other roads leads us to suppose that in the case of the Viae Aurelia, Cassia, and Clodia the numbering, for a considerable distance at least, was from Rome; and two of the extant stones, *CIL*, XI, 6666 (of Trajan's reign), IIII, and 6667 (Constantine), XLII, are apparently numbered from that place, while a third, *CIL*, XI, 6664 (Antoninus Pius), is definitely marked: a Roma m. p. CLXXXVIII. On the other hand, in north Etruria there is evidence that both Pisa and Florence were the capita of roads; one inscription, XI, 6665 (Gratian) reads: civit(ate) Pisana m. p. IIII; and another, 6668 (Hadrian), though somewhat mutilated, is probably numbered LXXVI from Florence. The extent of Hadrian's reconstruction of the road is stated on the stone: Hadrianus . . . viam Cassiam vetustate collabsam a Clusinorum finibus Florentiam perduxit. How far back this system went we cannot say, in the absence of direct evidence, but in the case of Pisa it is reasonable to believe, on account of the importance of the place, that it was the caput of roads in its neighborhood even in republican times.

So much for central Italy. The account given shows that the custom of numbering the milestones from Rome was departed from only in the case of notable reconstructions of sections of a road, or where the size or importance of local centres, or their distance from Rome, made an exclusive numbering from the capital less desirable or less convenient.

In southern Italy the situation is different. The dominant system there is that of numbering from local centres. To this there is but one exception; namely, the Via Appia, on

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which we find traces of a continuous numbering from Rome. In consideration of the importance of the road and the fact that it joined Rome and Brundisium, this is what we should expect. The surprising feature of the case is the scantiness of the evidence: only one stone (*CIL*, IX, 6072) gives the number of miles from Rome, CLXXII. The Appia, it will be remembered, ran from Capua to Beneventum, then to Venusia, then to Tarentum, and finally to Brundisium. This stone was found on the section between Beneventum and Venusia. Its importance is due chiefly to the fact that it apparently represents a series of considerable extent, all the other examples of which have been lost. The inscription on the stone itself is incomplete, but can easily be filled out from another stone (6075): Hadrianus Aug. Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. VII Cos. III Viam Appiam per millia passus XV DCCL longa vetustate amissam adiectis HS XI|XLVII ad HS DLXIXC quae possessores agrorum contulerunt fecit. Probably the stones set up at the time of this restoration by Hadrian were regularly marked with the number of miles from Rome. But even on this series, if we may judge from the example extant, the distance from local centres was also given. This stone has in addition to the mileage from Rome the numeral VIII, the distance from Beneventum. The four stones of the Appia found between Capua and Beneventum are all numbered from Capua: VI, XIV, XVI, and XXI. Moreover, on the Via Traiana,[1] which ran from Beneventum through Apulia to Brundisium, the numbering is from Beneventum. This is one of the best series of milestones that we have. Twenty-eight bear Trajan's name and record the fact that he built the road at his own expense; seven others contain the number only, but it is probable that they belong to the same period. The numbers range from 5 to 137 m. p.[2] On the Via Aurelia Aeclanensis[3] the single stone that has turned up

[1] *CIL*, IX, 6003 ff.

[2] They are V, VI, XIII, XVI, LXII, LXIII, LXIV (or LXXI), LXIX, LXX, LXXIX, LXXXI, LXXXII, LXXXIII, LXXXIV, LXXXVI, LXXXIIX, LXXXIX, XC, LXXXXI, LXXXXII, LXXXXIV, LXXXXVI, LXXXXVII, CI, CIII, CV, CVIII, CVIIII, CX, CXI, CXII, CXIII, CXXVIII, CXXXVII. On one stone (6053) the number is missing.

[3] *CIL*, IX, 6071.

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is marked III, *i.e.* from Herdoniae or Aeclanum, probably the latter. On the Via Herculia[1] the numbering, judging from the examples extant, was from Aequum Tuticum. On the road from Puteoli to Naples[2] the count was made from Puteoli. On the road between Naples and Nuceria[3] we have two numbered stones: XI (Hadrian) and VI (Maxentius). The former is numbered from Nuceria, the latter from Naples, —a system of numbering in keeping with the fact that in Maxentius' time Naples was asserting herself among the cities of Campania. Many other examples might be cited to show how firmly established in this part of Italy the practice of local numbering was. For example, the stones on the roads from Capua to Cumae, Puteoli, and Naples are numbered from Capua.[4] On other roads we have stones numbered from Nola and from Regium. The stone[5] which stands in Forum Popili on the road between Regium and Capua is unusual. It is inscribed with the distance from Forum Popili to Nuceria and Capua on the north, and to Muranum, Cosentia, Valentia, Fretum ad Statuam, and Regium on the south. It gives also the total distance from Capua to Regium, CCCXXI . . m. p. It is a directory of distances rather than a milestone. Its date is 132 B.C. Some similar examples have been found among the provincial stones.

Summing up, then, so far as southern Italy is concerned, we find that, with the exception of the Appia, the system universally adopted was that of numbering from local centres; yet the numbering from these centres was sometimes continuous for a considerable distance, running without a break through the territory of town after town, as, for example, on the Via Traiana. Speaking in general, the underlying principle of the system was that of local convenience, and the choice of the capita was largely determined by the relative importance of the various towns. That the amount of money contributed for the construction or repair of any road by the different communities which it benefited also entered into the question of the determination of the

[1] *CIL*, x, 6965 ff. [2] *CIL*, x, 6926 ff. [3] *CIL*, x, 6937 ff.
[4] *CIL*, x, 6941 ff. [5] *CIL*, x, 6950.

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caput cannot be doubted. For just as the Roman officials[1] who were in charge of all the roads in Italy must have relied to a considerable extent upon the coöperation of local officials, so such money as was available from the publicum aerarium for construction and repair work must in many cases have been supplemented by local contributions. That this was actually the case we know from the inscription on the Appia quoted on p. 19, and it is significant that that milestone is numbered both from Rome and Beneventum. In the provinces, as we shall see, this principle played a very large part. In the case of the Via Traiana, which was constructed at the private expense of the Emperor, the stones were numbered continuously from Beneventum to Brundisium, partly for the purpose of preserving the unity of this contribution on the part of the Emperor to public utilities, and partly because the intermediate towns were of less importance. In numbering from Brundisium, however, instead of from Rome, the Emperor was consulting the convenience of local travellers. In studying this whole question it is necessary to remember that the extent of travel and transportation in ancient as compared with modern times was relatively small. There are very few points of difference between antiquity and our own age that are more far reaching than this. To the ordinary inhabitant of southern Italy, Rome was a long way off. Every region had its own metropolis.

The situation in northern Italy is different from that in the south. In the first place, the system of recording the mileage from Rome, which in the latter region is evidenced by only one milestone of the Appia, appears upon a considerable number of stones on the chain of roads which links the Adriatic

[1] These were at first the censors, and later special curatores viarum. Consuls and praetors also participated to some extent in the construction and repair of roads, and many emperors showed great activity in the same work. The strictness of the supervision of the Roman officials naturally varied in different periods and with different roads. In Tacitus, *Ann.* iii, 31, Corbulo complained in the Senate of the bad condition of the roads throughout Italy: plurima per Italiam itinera fraude mancipum et incuria magistratuum interrupta et impervia clamitando. In the provinces the roads were under the supervision of the proconsuls or imperial legates.

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with the western boundary of Italy. In the second place, we have in Cisalpine Gaul many clear examples of a territorial numbering of the stones; *i.e.*, the milestones are numbered from a town only as far as the limits of the territory belonging to that town.

The great trunk road of the north was the Via Aemilia, which ran from Ariminum, the terminus of the Flaminia, to Placentia. On it we find milestones of widely different ages. Let us look first at the three which belong to the republican period, *CIL*, XI, 6641, 6642, and 6645, all inscribed with the words M. Aemilius, M. f. M. n. Lepidus Cos. In spite of Mommsen's doubt (he was sceptical about the antiquity of the stones chiefly on account of the closed P in Lepidus), it is reasonably certain that these belong to the original construction of the road. The form of the letter P is in all probability due to restoration, and the date of the stones is 187 B.C. Cf. Livy, xxxix, 2: M. Aemilius . . . viam . . . a Placentia, ut Flaminiae committeret, Ariminum perduxit. The stones are numbered from Rome, CCXI (?), CCLXIIX, and CCXXCVI, respectively. One of them, however, 6642, has in addition the number XV. This is probably the mileage from Bononia, as San Pietro, where the stone was found, is about that distance from Bologna. This number was inscribed by a different hand and in a different age. Another of the stones, moreover, 6645, has besides the mileage from Rome the distance from Bononia, IIII, and from Mutina, XXI, marked on its sides. A great chronological gap separates these stones from all the other numbered stones found on the road. The next earliest belongs to the reign of Diocletian and Maximian, and is numbered I, from Parma. Others are numbered from Ariminum.

Just as the Aemilia continues the Flaminia, so the Via Iulia Augusta continues the Aemilia, and runs from Placentia to Dertona, from Dertona to Vada Sabata, and from Vada to the river Varus, which formed the boundary of Italy. From Rome to Ariminum the distance is 221 m. p., from Ariminum to Placentia 168, from Placentia to the Varus 224, so that the whole distance from Rome to the Varus by this route is 613

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miles. Figures approaching this total appear on a considerable number of stones found on the last sections of the road. The series is unique among Roman milestones in the size of the numbers, and on this account is given here in more detail than any that have yet been referred to. Belonging to the age of Augustus we have *CIL*, v, 8085, DLIII m. p. from Rome; 8088, DXC; 8094, DCI; 8098, DCIII; 8100, (D)CIV; 8101, DCV; 8105, DCVII. Of Hadrian's reign there are 8095, DCI; 8102, DCV; 8103, DCVI; 8106, DCVIII. Of Caracalla's reign are 8087, DXXCIX; 8089, DXC; 8090, X (this stone was found on the same site as 8089; possibly X is all that remains of a larger number); 8096, DCI; 8097, DCII; 8099, DCIII; 8104, DCVI (?); 8107, DCVIII. On two of the stones of Hadrian's reign, 8095 and 8102, we find besides the distance from Rome, DCI and DCV, also the distance from Placentia, CCXII and (CCX)VI, respectively.

On other imperial roads in this part of Italy the mileage from Rome is not given. In some cases, however, the numbering seems to have been continuous for a considerable distance. A stone which bears the name of Publius Popillius, consul in 132 B.C., and which belongs to the road from Ariminum to Altinum, is inscribed with the number LXXXI, *i.e.* from Ariminum. On the road which Augustus built from Concordia into Noricum,[1] the stones are numbered from Concordia at least as far as Pers. Two stones of the Via Claudia Augusta[2] built by Claudius from the Po to the Danube give the total length of the road, CCCL, but none has survived which records an intermediate distance. The Via Flavia[3] built by Vespasian from Tergeste to Pola is numbered from Tergeste. Two stones[4] of the fourth century belonging to the road from Verona into Raetia mark the 37th and the 56th mile from Verona.

When we turn from these roads, all clearly imperial in character, to the series which leads from Patavium through Vicetia, Brescia, and Bergomum to Mediolanum, we find an entirely different system—a system different, moreover, from any that we have seen in central or southern Italy. The

[1] *CIL*, v, 8007. [2] 7995 ff. [3] 8002 f. [4] 7984 ff.

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numbering is not merely local in the broad sense in which we have used that term in speaking of the capita of southern Italy; it is strictly territorial. Let us look, for example, at the stones in the neighborhood of Verona. On the Vicetia side of Verona, we have stones numbered XI, IX, VIII, IV, III. Doubtless the series, if it had come down to us entire, would have taken us to the gates of Verona. On the other side of Verona, going from that city toward Brescia, we have XIX, XX, XXIII, XXVI, and XXXII. In the former case where the numbering from Verona ceases, that from Vicetia begins; in the latter where the numbering from Verona ceases, that from Brescia begins. The principle at the basis of this system is plain. The milestones from Verona extend on either side as far as the boundaries of the ager which Verona possessed; and it is the same with Vicetia and Brescia. The system is so clear-cut that the milestones can be used in estimating the dimensions of the ager. While none of the stones belong to a period earlier than the third century A.D., it is probable that the care of these roads was assigned to their respective municipalities as early as the end of the first century. At any rate, the inscriptions indicate that in this region there was but little activity in road building on the part of Roman officials or emperors for more than a hundred years after the time of Vespasian.

2. The Provinces

Passing to the provinces, we find the system of numbering varying with the system of control which the Romans adopted in different parts of their empire. How faithfully so small a detail as the inscriptions on the milestones reflects the general policy of the central government at Rome may be seen by comparing the stones of Narbonensis with those of the three Gauls and Germany. When Augustus assumed control of affairs, the Romanization of Narbonensis — the Province, as it was called — had gone infinitely further than that of Aquitania, Celtica, and Belgica. The Province was ripe for complete reorganization along strictly Roman lines.

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Coloniae had been founded there as early as the second century B.C., Julius Caesar had added others, and Augustus developed still further the plans of his uncle. The old cantonal system yielded everywhere to the Latin municipality, as examples of which may be mentioned Forum Iuli, Aquae Sextiae, Arelate, Nemausus, and Narbo. For the most part these communities cared for the roads in their territory. In the eastern part of the province we find milestones numbered from Forum Iuli toward Aquae Sextiae[1] (Aix) as far as the 33d mile. The stones numbered from Aquae Sextiae toward Arelate (Arles) — the highest number is XVIII — are succeeded by a series numbered from Arelate toward Aquae Sextiae which takes us up to the first milestone outside of the former city. The boundary between the territories of these two towns is thus clearly defined. We find no such sharp division, however, between Arelate and Nemausus (Nîmes) or between Nemausus and Narbo. This part of the Via Domitia — for it is to this road that all the sections discussed in this paragraph belong — shows a series of milestones of Tiberius' reign which are numbered from Narbo through to Nemausus, — LXII, LXIII, LXVII (?), LXII, LXXIII, LXXXIIII, LXXXV,[2] and LXXXVII are extant — and from Nemausus are continued to Arelate. In all likelihood this section was repaired under the immediate direction of Roman officials. This supposition becomes still more probable when we examine the extreme western section of the Domitia; namely, that between Narbo and the boundaries of Spain, for there we find two stones of Augustus' reign with three numbers each. One of these, *CIL*, XII, 5668, is numbered XVI, DCCCCXVII, and DCCCXCVIII, *i.e.* 16 miles from Narbo and 917 and 898 miles from Rome, the latter number indicating a shorter route. The other stone is marked XX, *i.e.* from Narbo, and DCCCCXXI and DCCCCII, from Rome. It is not likely that the whole expense of the work on these sections of the road was met by the Roman government, but it is

[1] *CIL*, XII, 5454 ff.

[2] Bears Claudius' name; but as it is the only one of his reign, it was probably substituted for one of the original series of Tiberius.

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reasonable to assume that a part of it was. It is interesting to note that, while the stones of Tiberius' reign between Narbo and Nemausus are numbered through from Narbo, some traces have survived from the time of Antoninus Pius of a numbering from Nemausus toward Narbo.[1]

In the three Gauls, on the other hand, we find Roman coloniae and municipia playing a very subordinate part. There was, to be sure, Lugdunum, founded by Plancus (43 B.C.), a Roman town and the capital of the three provinces. Moreover, we find it stated in Strabo[2] that Agrippa made Lugdunum the centre of the road system of the country, building from it four great highways — one to Arelate on the south, one to Gesoriacum (Boulogne) on the north, one to Burdigala (Bordeaux) on the west, and one to the Rhine. From this definite statement by Strabo we might expect that Lugdunum would be to the three Gauls what Rome was to Italy, and that the roads for a considerable distance, at any rate, would be equipped with milestones numbered from it. But if there ever were such milestones, none has survived, and curiously enough among the hundreds of stones found in these provinces and belonging to the first, second, and third centuries of the empire, not a single one has turned up that shows a numbering from Lugdunum. We must infer from this that Lugdunum had no ager. The earliest group of stones belongs to the reign of Claudius, and these well illustrate the system which in its main features persisted through the empire. Prominent among the capita from which the miles are counted are Andematunnum, Augustonemetum, Mediolanum Santonum, Vorganium, and Augustodurum. The principle of selection is obvious: Andematunnum (Langres) was the old capital of the Lingones; Augustonemetum (Clermont) was the capital of the Arverni, Mediolanum Santonum (Saintes) the capital of the Santones, Vorganium the capital of Osismii, and Augustodurum of the Bodiocasses. Moreover, not only were the old tribal capitals retained as the capita of the roads, but the distance to which the stones were numbered from the capitals corresponds to the area of

[1] *CIL*, XII, 5639. [2] iv, 6, 11.

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the territory occupied by the different tribes. Under subsequent emperors the same thing recurs. For example, milestones belonging to Trajan's reign show us as capita, besides some of the places already mentioned, Aventicum, Burdigala, Noviomagus, and Visontio. Aventicum (Avenches) was the chief city of the Helvetii, Burdigala of the Vivisci on the aestuary of the Garonne, Noviomagus (Lisieux) of the Lexovii,[1] Visontio of the Sequani.[2] To enumerate the capita that are found on the milestones of still later emperors would involve needless repetition. So far as the principle of numbering is concerned, there is little or no change. There is much truth in Desjardins's[3] remark that the geography of Gaul changed so little in the course of three hundred years that Ptolemy's work written in the second century is a safe guide for 180 years before his time and 100 years after.

Exceptions to the rule of retaining the old tribal capital as the caput of the roads in the territory of that tribe are found even as early as the reign of Claudius. Moguntiacum was doubtless made the caput of roads running along the Rhine, because it was the headquarters of the legions quartered in upper Germany; the same is true of Colonia Agrippinensis, the headquarters of the legions which occupied lower Germany. On a stone of the second century we find Sumelocenna as caput; it was the chief place not of a tribe, but of an imperial *saltus*. Moreover, some stones belonging to the reign of Antoninus Pius give not only the mileage from Limonum (Poitiers), the capital of the Pictones, on the road toward Fines the boundary of the territory, but also the distance from Fines back toward Limonum. A stone of the fourth century gives Aquae Helvetiorum as caput of a road, though this was not the capital of the Helvetians. There are some traces, also, of a numbering that extended over a considerable distance without regard to tribal boundaries. For example, a stone of Claudius' reign, found between Montluel and Meximieux, is numbered CXIX.[4] It seems to

[1] Caes. *B. G.* iii, 9; viii, 75; Strabo, iv, 1, 114. [2] Caes *B. G.* i, 38.
[3] *Géographie historique et administrative de la Gaule romaine*, III, 345.
[4] *CIL*, XIII, 9055.

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belong, as Othmer has aptly suggested, to a road running from the Alpis Graia to Lugdunum and to be numbered from the former point. From the reign of Antoninus Pius we have a stone, found in situ just outside Moguntiacum and numbered LXXXVIII, *i.e.* from Augusta Treverorum. Of intermediate stones giving evidence of a continuous numbering on this road there are no examples. Probably this method was confined to the terminal stone.

Very few numbered milestones have been found in Britain, nor do any of those that are extant show a numbering from Camulodunum or from Londinium, as might have been expected. One[1] may possibly be numbered from Lindum (Lincoln), and another is definitely marked: a Ratis II, *i.e.* two miles from Ratae, a place on the Fosseway between Londinium and Lindum.

In Spain the most important road was the Via Augusta. Starting from the pass of Puycerda in the Pyrenees it ran south and southwest to the upper reaches of the river Baetis, and from that region on through Baetica to Gades. Some stones that have survived show that for a certain distance, at least, the numbering on the upper part of the road was from the pass of the Pyrenees. To this system belong the two republican stones found near Ilerda (Lerida) and marked XCII and XCIIII, respectively.[2] Just how far this numbering extended cannot be determined. The stone of Claudius' reign numbered CCXVIII may be another example, but when we get as far as Castulo, we find traces of a numbering for a short distance, at any rate, from that place, and it is quite possible that other intermediate towns served as capita. From the point where the road crosses the Baetis, however, a new system, which is perfectly clear and well defined, begins. The river in that region forms the boundary between Baetica and Tarraconensis, and there an arch in honor of Augustus, called the ianus Augusti, was erected. It is from this arch that all the rest of the milestones, down even to Gades, are numbered. This system was established by Augustus, from whose reign we have stones numbered LXXI, LXXIV, LXXV, LXXVII, and

[1] *CIL*, VII, 1156. [2] *CIL*, II, 4924, 4925.

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LXXXI. Subsequent emperors followed the same plan: belonging to the reign of Tiberius there are stones ab iano Augusti LXIV, LXVII, LXXXI, and LXXXIII; from Nero's reign comes the highest number, CCXXII. This last stone was found between Hasta and Gades, but was not in situ, for making our calculation from the itinerary found at Aquae Apollinares, Gades was about 250 miles from the place on the Baetis where the arch of Augustus must have stood, namely, between Castulo and ad Noulas.

The Via Augusta was the great imperial road of Spain, and as it was a continuation of the Via Domitia of southern Gaul, the latter being a continuation of the Iulia Augusta, Aemilia, and Flaminia, it formed one link in a chain of roads which had no parallel in the Roman Empire and which literally joined Rome to the Atlantic Ocean.

Other examples of long distance numbering are found in Spain, for while there is no doubt that if there were a larger number of stones extant, many of the coloniae and municipia would be found serving as capita for the roads in their territory, yet the evidence of the stones that have survived shows that there was in this province a distinct tendency in the direction of continuous numbering for distances far beyond the territory of individual towns. Besides the long distance numbering on both the upper and the lower parts of the Augusta, we find a striking example in the case of the road running from Emerita, the capital of Lusitania, to Salmantica in the northern part of the same province. The stones, some of which belong to the reign of Claudius and others to the second and third centuries, are numbered from Emerita for a distance of 168 miles. Without doubt, the series originally covered the whole distance between the two cities, 183 miles. It is to be regretted that we have no milestones from the roads that led south from Emerita to Corduba and Hispalis in the province of Baetica. It would be interesting to know whether the political and commercial importance of Emerita was great enough to make it an interprovincial caput so that the milestones even on the Baetican side of the boundary were numbered from it.

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Among the remaining capita of this province the most noticeable are the capitals of some of the conventus into which Augustus subdivided the three provinces of Spain. There are extant, for example, a great many numbered stones from Bracara Augusta, the chief place of one of the conventus of northwestern Tarraconensis. These stones appear first in the reign of Augustus, and are continued through the first, second, third, and fourth centuries of the empire. One road runs to Olisipo (Lisbon) by way of Portus Cale (Oporto); on it the stones numbered from Bracara are found on the section between Bracara and Portus Cale; *i.e.* they are confined to the territory of the conventus. In the same way the many numbered stones found on the four roads that lead by different routes to Asturica Augusta, the capital of another conventus, are on the Bracara side of the boundary between the two conventus. The numbers on these stones run from I to LXVI. Other capitals of conventus that appear also as capita of roads are Caesaraugusta and Carthago Nova.

The preceding examples show that the distance to which the stones were numbered from their capita was controlled in some cases by provincial boundaries, — the system on the upper part of the Augusta is not found outside of Tarraconensis, that on the lower part is confined to Baetica, — in other cases by the boundaries of conventus, as in the Bracara group. On the other hand, it must be noticed that the milestone numbers on the roads from the capitals of provinces or conventus are not always continuous to the boundaries of the province or the conventus, *e.g.* those on the roads from Caesaraugusta; furthermore, places other than the capitals of provinces or conventus appear as capita of roads. In the conventus of Bracara itself we have five stones numbered from Aquae Flaviae. Three of these (IV, XLII, and XLIII) are of Trajan's reign; two (II and V) of Hadrian's. In the conventus Cluniacensis, moreover, in Tarraconensis, we have no examples of stones numbered from Clunia, the chief place of the conventus, but find some marked a Pisoraca (*i.e.* the river of that name) I, C (?), CLXXX (?), and others numbered from Augustobriga, III, IX, X. These two places were the seats of

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military encampments. In the southern conventus of Baetica, of which Gades was the chief place, some stones are numbered from Malaca.

In Africa a conspicuous example of continuous numbering is furnished by the military road from Carthage to the camp at Theveste, where were the headquarters of the troops that protected Roman Africa from the tribes that infested the southern frontier. About forty stones[1] are extant, the earliest belonging to the reign of Hadrian, others to a restoration by Caracalla, others to another restoration by Julius Verus Maximinus (237 A.D.), and still others to the reigns of later emperors. With a good many gaps and some duplicates the stones run from XX up to CXCI. All are numbered from Carthage. The work in Hadrian's reign was, as we know from the inscriptions, carried through under the immediate supervision of the imperial legatus pro praetore, Publius Metilius Secundus, who employed for the purpose the soldiers of the legio tertia Augusta. If the communities through which the road passed contributed anything to the construction, their contribution was not regarded by Hadrian's representative as important enough to justify a local numbering. Subsequent emperors or their officials adhered to Hadrian's system, though in their time, in accordance with the increased tendency toward local construction and local numbering, participation by the communities in the work of repair or construction can be regarded as certain. Different was the history of the other military roads which ran from Theveste. For example, some inscriptions belonging to the reign of Tiberius[2] show that in his time the milestones were numbered continuously on the road from Theveste to Tacapae on the Syrtis Minor. In later times, however, places intermediate between Tacapae and Theveste were used as capita for their districts. Cf. *CIL*, VIII, 10035, a stone of the fourth century, which has the number XXII, *i.e.* from Thelepte toward Theveste. Cf. also 10034, XXI, from the same place. There are stones — one of them belongs to Caracalla's reign — which show that Capsa was the caput of the road running to

[1] *CIL*, VIII, 10046 ff. [2] *CIL*, VIII, 10018, 10023.

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Thusurus, and it is quite possible that as early as this it served as an intermediate caput on the road between Theveste and Tacapae. On the road from Theveste to Hippo Regius one stone shows a numbering from Theveste, XX. The construction of this road belongs to the reign of Vespasian and was supervised by the imperial legatus pro praetore, Publius Egnatius Cato. Another stone[1] on this road gives a list of the chief cities of Africa, and the distance to each one from the point where the stone stood. On the road from Theveste to Cirta, while some stones are numbered from Cirta and some from Theveste, others are numbered from intermediate points.

About the middle of the second century the military headquarters were transferred from Theveste westward to Lambaesis. Between Theveste and Lambaesis were the towns Mascula and Timgad. On the road running through this series of settlements the numbering is first from Theveste, then from Mascula, then from Timgad. The inscriptions on many of the stones show that the different sections were constructed by the colonies in whose territory they were. *CIL*, VIII, 10206 is typical of a large number: A Col. M. P. Res. P. Col. Thamug. I [*i.e.* respublica colonorum Thamugadensium; A Colonia M. P. I]. When we find this system of municipal construction and municipal numbering adopted on a road like this, which was primarily a military highway, we can form some idea of the extent to which the same system was used on roads that were not military. Large numbers of inscriptions show that it was the dominant system of Africa. While the number of stones is very great, — much greater than in any other province in the empire, — the frequency with which the name of the community is specifically given on the stone as the builder and the caput of the road facilitates the work of examination.

In Palestine we have a stone (162 A.D.) marked V from Jerusalem on the road which led first to Neapolis, and then dividing went to Tyre on the one hand and Damascus on the other. On the coast road of Syria we have an interesting

[1] *CIL*, VIII, 10118.

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example of continuous numbering on a stone of the age of Marcus Aurelius found north of Berytus. It is numbered ccxv, which is the distance from Gaza, an important place on the caravan route from Egypt. The stone has also a local number, xi, from Berytus. Cf. also a stone of the fourth century found at the mouth of the Nahr El Kelb. It has indications of two numbers: θ, that is, the ninth mile from Berytus, and a large number in Roman numerals which, though mutilated, can, by means of comparison with the last inscription, be restored as ccxiii, the distance from Gaza. In the same way the inscription *CIL*, iii, 117, should be restored with the mileage from Gaza or Petra. Other milestones of Syria show a numbering from local centres, *e.g.* ii, from Sidon (*CIL*, iii, 205); i from Berytus (Le Bas, *Explication*, iii, p. 440).

In the province of Asia we see how an attempt to make Ephesus the caput of the whole country failed. A milestone of the republican period bearing the name of Manius Aquilius consul in 129 B.C., and found on the road leading from Ephesus to Pergamum by way of Smyrna, is numbered cxxxi, from Ephesus; a stone of Claudius' reign also, found about three miles from Smyrna on the road from Ephesus to Lampsacus, is numbered from Ephesus. The number is probably xxxxii.[1] In later times, however, this plan yielded to that of numbering from local centres.[2]

Along the Danube the military posts served as capita from which the stones were numbered, in some cases for considerable distances. A long series running from Aquincum, the capital of Pannonia Inferior, is extant, one stone of the reign of Alexander Severus being numbered ccxxv. The stones on the road leading north from the same place are met by a series numbered from Brigetio, higher up the river in Pannonia Superior, and it is noteworthy that the numbering from Brigetio extends beyond the boundary between the two provinces. Other capita are Carnuntum and Vindobona. Belonging to the great road which ran all the way across the

[1] Cf. Le Bas, *ib.*, p. 10.

[2] Cf. *CIL*, iii, 466; *ib.* 474, vi from Smyrna; 478, ii from Smyrna; 480, v from Alabanda.

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southern regions of Pannonia Superior and Inferior, from Atrans to Singidunum, we have a stone numbered CXXXVII, apparently from Singidunum. In Noricum the municipia and coloniae, which on account of the proximity to Italy flourished here as in no other part of the Danubian lands, were the capita; *e.g.* Celeia, Virunum, Teurnia, and Iuvavum. On the road which led from Teurnia to Iuvavum through a spur of the Alps, the stones were numbered from each place up to the ridge of the mountains which lay between them. From Teurnia we have IIXXX, XL, XLI, XLII, XLV, and LIV; from Iuvavum XIII.

To sum up in conclusion, there are in all four more or less clearly defined systems of numbering:

(1) The numbering from Rome is found only in central Italy, and to some extent on the Appia in the south and on the Aemilia and its continuations in the north. The most distant point from Rome marked on any stone is the 917th mile, given on a milestone of the Domitia between Narbo and Spain.[1]

(2) Continuous numbering from some place other than Rome occurs in southern and in northern Italy, in the Gallic provinces (occasionally), in Spain, in Africa (between Carthage and Theveste), in Syria (on caravan routes), in Asia Minor (from Ephesus), and along the Danube. Roughly speaking, the capita are either military posts or places of preëminent political or commercial importance. Conspicuous among the military posts are Theveste in Africa, the camps along the Danube in the Pannonian provinces, the Italian capita of the roads leading into Raetia and Noricum, and the headquarters of the troops on the Rhine, Moguntiacum and Colonia Agrippinensis. Of political or commercial centres we may mention Narbo in Gallia Narbonensis, Emerita and Carthago Nova in Spain, Gaza in Syria, and Ephesus in Asia.

(3) In the three Gauls the system of numbering was adjusted to the old tribal division of the lands.

(4) The system of numbering according to the territory of the different towns is found most clearly defined in Cisalpine Gaul, in Narbonensis, in Africa, and in Noricum.

[1] *CIL*, XII, 5668.

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III — *Notes on a Certain Use of the Reed, with Special Reference to Some Doubtful Passages*

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The numberless ways in which the Greeks and Romans made use of reeds and canes would furnish material for a large monograph, if anybody cared to undertake a tedious investigation which could, for the most part, produce only results of an obvious and predictable character. Such an investigation lies far beyond the scope of this paper, which aims merely to throw some light upon a few well-known passages in Greek literature by calling attention to a certain little-noticed use of the reed.

The first of these passages is in Xenophon's *Hellenica*, ii, 1, 1–4. It describes an abortive uprising among the men belonging to the Lacedaemonian fleet in Chios, during the winter of 406. In order that they might recognize one another and know their strength, the conspirators agreed that each should carry a reed as a token. Eteonicus, the commander, got wind of the affair, and was much disturbed when he saw how numerous the reed-bearers were. After some deliberation about the best plan of action, he took a party of fifteen men armed with daggers, and started out for a walk through the town. As it chanced, he fell in with a man suffering from ophthalmia, who was just coming away from a physician's office, carrying a reed. This man he put to death. When people asked why the man was killed, Eteonicus simply gave out the answer, "Because he had the reed." Thereupon, as the story spread, the conspirators threw away their reeds in alarm, and the plot came to nothing.

At first reading the passage does not present difficulties. Certain questions arise, however, in connection with the reed carried by the conspirators (§ 1) and by the man with the eye disease (§ 3). In the first place, by way of anticipating objections, it should be clearly stated that κάλαμος in these two

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sections is "reed," and not "straw," as Grote and other historians render it. κάλαμος seems not to be used in the sense of "straw" unless it is accompanied by some such phrase as τοῦ σίτου, or is placed in some context which clearly indicates the meaning. Xen. *Anab.* iv, 5, 26, is not, in my opinion, an exception.[1] In the second place, what was the reed-token, and how was it carried? Van Leeuwen, in a note on Ar. *Nub.* 1006, seems to think that it was a garland of small reeds worn on the head, comparing Athen. xv, 674b and the Aristophanes passage on which his note is based. But the passage becomes more intelligible, as will be shown later, if we regard the κάλαμος as a mere arbitrary symbol, serving no other purpose — perhaps a baton consisting of a joint or two of reed, and carried in the hand. There is other evidence for the use of short cuttings of reed as *tesserae*, or tokens; see Chron. Pasch. p. 490, 8 ff.; Joan. Mal. p. 289, 13 ff., p. 322, 17 ff. This is late testimony, of course, though the first two citations refer to an event of the reign of Commodus, when a wealthy citizen distributed reed-cuttings (καλαμίων συντόμια) as bread-tokens to the populace of Antioch. Cf. Themistius, p. 352, 34.

The reed carried by the ophthalmia patient (§ 3) was doubtless similar in kind and in general appearance to the reeds of the conspirators, else the object lesson given by the killing of the unfortunate man would have been without point. But how did this man happen to be carrying a reed? Was he one of the mutineers? That he did belong to the conspiracy seems to be the opinion of all the editors — at least that is the fairest inference to draw from their silence. This view is professed by the historians Grote and Abbott, and apparently by Bury also; and it is certainly held by Dakyns, who translates the sentence in question as follows: "Falling in with one of the reed-bearers, a man suffering from ophthalmia, who was returning from the surgeon's house, he put him to

[1] It is perhaps rather flippant to suggest that those who translate "straw" here are misled by a modern analogy. But straws left lying in a liquid, as were the κάλαμοι that Xenophon saw, would soon become flaccid and useless. Nor would he be likely to distinguish between larger and smaller sizes of straws. See, further, an observation of Niebuhr's, quoted in Vollbrecht's appendix *ad loc.*

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death." But is that what Xenophon says? His words read thus: *ἐντυχών τινι ὀφθαλμιῶντι ἀνθρώπῳ ἀπιόντι ἐξ ἰατρείου, κάλαμον ἔχοντι, ἀπέκτεινε.* The order of thought is very different from Dakyns's rendering, and besides, if Dakyns's view of the sentence is right, the details about the man's eye trouble and his visit to the physician are quite irrelevant. Certainly nothing in the words of Xenophon compels us to believe that this victim of Eteonicus was really a conspirator.

It is possible, though no editor mentions this view, that some readers of the *Hellenica* understand by the *κάλαμος* of § 3 a walking-cane with which the ophthalmia patient was feeling his way. This interpretation would indeed give a needed connection between the apparently irrelevant detail of the eye disease and the carrying of the reed. On the other hand, it entails several difficulties. In the first place, Xenophon uses not *καλαμίνη βακτηρία*, but merely *κάλαμος*, for both the token of the malcontents and the reed carried by the man with the eye trouble. But even if we admit that the word could be used for a walking-stick of reed, would such a cane be sufficiently distinctive to serve as a badge in a secret and dangerous plot? We know from a familiar passage in the *Anabasis* (iv, 7, 26) that many soldiers carried walking-sticks when on the march, and when off duty these Lacedaemonian sailors and fighting men were as likely to use walking-canes as civilians were, and that whether they belonged to a conspiracy or not. It is true that we find no specific mention of walking-sticks made of *κάλαμος*, and it is also true that most of the sticks shown on Attic vase-paintings are stout, knotted cudgels. But straight sticks of light material were known, as may be gathered from a glance at the article *baculum* in Daremberg-Saglio. Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant.* iii, 14, 4) characterizes the light wood of the *σημύδα* as good only for walking-sticks, and Pliny (*N. H.* xiii, 123) says that even the *ferula* (*νάρθηξ*, giant fennel) was so used by old men because of its lightness. One is forced into a kind of dilemma: if reeds as walking-sticks were by no means unheard of, as seems probable, a walking-cane of this kind would hardly be a safe token. Outsiders might

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carry them by mere chance. On the other hand, if one prefers to believe that the reed walking-stick was something of a rarity, it is a strange coincidence that the ophthalmia patient should have had it, unless he was a member of the conspiracy, which for other reasons is not readily to be admitted.

Perhaps the question may be cleared up by a more practical consideration. It is really enough to say that there is no causal connection between the eye disease and the carrying of the walking-stick, because 1) an ophthalmia patient is not necessarily blind, and 2) because even if the disease were so far advanced as to obscure the sufferer's vision, he would not be likely, as long as the disease was in progress, to be able to grope his way along the street with a stick. The man who can do that safely and easily has been blind some time. One who has recently gone blind, or is temporarily blind, does not usually trust himself in the street with nothing but his stick and his sense of direction to guide him. He is more likely to take the arm of another man, as did the Spartan Eurytus at Thermopylae,[1] who, like Dick in *The Light that Failed*, had himself led into the thick of the battle to perish.

The true explanation of this passage in the *Hellenica* has, I think, been given by van Leeuwen in his notes on Aristophanes, *Nub.* 1006 and *Acharn.* 1034. His editions of the two plays appeared in 1898 and 1901 respectively, but the explanation to which I refer seems to have been overlooked by recent editors of the *Hellenica*. This fact, together with the circumstance that van Leeuwen brings in his view incidentally and does not argue it at length, seems to me to justify its introduction here. I will therefore reproduce from these two notes the substance of van Leeuwen's interpretation, repeating the arguments used by him, and then give further evidence in support of his opinion.

The reed, says van Leeuwen, was used by physicians as a cheap and convenient receptacle for drugs, especially in dispensing them to poor patients. The ophthalmia patient killed by Eteonicus was not a mutineer, but an unoffending citizen, and the reed that he carried was no token of conspiracy,

[1] Hdt. vii, 229.

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but merely a cheap medicine-vial. The murder of this man was an act of cunning cruelty, intended to intimidate the guilty through the innocent. The conspirators themselves, van Leeuwen seems to think, may have had as their badge a garland or at least a sprig of small reed worn upon the head (cf. *Nub.* 1006), in which case, of course, the reed carried by the victim of Eteonicus must have been somewhat different in appearance; but Eteonicus' statement that the man was put to death "because he had the reed" (*ὅτι τὸν κάλαμον εἶχε*) would have been none the less effective. For proof of the use of reeds as receptacles, van Leeuwen contents himself with three passages. One of these is Ar. *Acharn.* 1034, where the farmer begs Dicaeopolis to pour a drop of peace into a little reed. The humor of the request is somewhat heightened by thus representing the peace as a precious medicine. The other two bits of evidence are concerned not with *κάλαμος* but with another light, hollow plant, the *νάρθηξ*, or fennel. Van Leeuwen reminds us that Prometheus concealed the divine spark in a hollow *νάρθηξ* (Hes. *Theog.* 567, *Op.* 52), and that Alexander the Great kept his famous copy of Homer in a sumptuous artificial case called by the same name (Plut. *Alex.* 8; Strab. xiii, p. 594).

I have expressed in a previous paragraph my dissent from the suggestion of van Leeuwen that the badge of the conspirators at Chios was a wreath of small reeds. For the rest, the interpretation of the *κάλαμος* in *Hellen.* ii, 1, 3 as a medicine-tube has two considerable advantages. One is that we can now recognize the apparently irrelevant matter about the eye trouble and the visit to the doctor as a simple and natural reason for the fact that the man had a reed. The other is that we now understand why the commander's high-handed action had no dangerous consequences. Xenophon says expressly that Eteonicus' perplexity about the proper way to manage the situation arose from his recognition of the danger that would attend an open attempt to suppress the conspiracy (§ 2). He made preparations, it is true, for some harsh measure of repression. Yet had he slain a soldier, some trouble might have followed. Clear-

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chus, as we remember in the *Anabasis*, got into difficulties over a mere flogging. In this case a strange coincidence enabled Eteonicus to attain his end by the sacrifice of only a cheap civilian life.

So much, then, may be said on general grounds in favor of van Leeuwen's view. Now as to the particular point about the use of reeds as receptacles, especially as vials — is it well enough attested to justify van Leeuwen in employing it to elucidate the passage in the *Hellenica?* The answer to this question, it seemed to me, ought to be found in ancient medical works, and with that end in view I began an examination of some Greek and Roman medical writers to ascertain what use they made of hollow, reed-like plants. It soon became apparent, however, that it was a useless task to prosecute this search to a point approaching completeness, because the amount and the character of the evidence tended to obscure the issue. To illustrate, it is enough to cite briefly some of the manifold uses of the reed in ancient medicine and surgery. Practically all parts of certain reeds (*κάλαμοι*) were used as drugs — root, bark, and leaves.[1] Splints of *νάρθηξ* and doubtless also of *κάλαμος*, were used in treating broken limbs.[2] A section of reed served as a blow-tube for applying medicinal powders to diseased parts,[3] as a cannula for irrigating with a liquid medication,[4] or as a speculum through which to introduce a cautery.[5] A split reed served as a sort of combined guard and forceps to be used in removing arrow-points from wounds.[6] So convenient a natural product as the reed could not fail to find numerous applications in early surgery. But the very number and variety of these uses prove that the word *κάλαμος* alone, without explanatory con-

[1] Galen, *περὶ συνθ. φαρμ. τῶν κατὰ τόπους*, i, pp. 89, 90, 92, 98 of the Aldine edition, vol. II. Owing to a peculiarity of the library facilities at my command, I am obliged to cite from an edition that is a rare treasure to the bibliophile, but almost useless for purposes of reference.

[2] Hippocr. III Kühn, pp. 58, 75, 98, and *passim* in the treatise on fractures; Paul. Aegin. vi, pp. 416, 418 Briau; Cato, *R. R.* 160; Colum. vii, 5, 18.

[3] Cels. v, 28, 12 (p. 215, Daremb.); Cass. Fel. 30 f.

[4] Veget. *Ars Veter.* iii, 58, 4.

[5] Hippocr. III Kühn, p. 345; Cels. vii, 11.

[6] Cels. vii, 5, 2.

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text, was not likely to be employed by technical writers in the sense of vial. Furthermore, as the art of drug-compounding became more complex, physicians began to attach some importance to the material of the vessels in which drugs were to be kept. We find directions for the use of boxes or flasks of earthenware, bronze, lead, leather, and of various woods.[1] Still another hindrance to the specializing of *κάλαμος* in this sense by scientific writers is the fact that from early times the word was specialized in another meaning, namely, pen.

This search among the medical writers seems, therefore, to be at fault so far as concerns the particular question in which we are interested. Nevertheless, van Leeuwen's explanation of *κάλαμος* in our passage from the *Hellenica* remains tenable, and is, I believe, the only correct one. Seemingly without making a special investigation, he has divined the exact truth — namely, that the hollow *κάλαμος* and *νάρθηξ*, being from primitive times just such natural receptacles as would commend themselves to human needs, continued to be used along with better artificial vessels whenever expense was a consideration, or a receptacle had to be hastily improvised. There is evidence enough to prove this contention, but not much of it comes from medical writers. Taking *κάλαμος* and *καλαμίσκος* first, there is the following testimony, besides the important passage in *Acharnians* 1034, which has already been mentioned. The scholium on that verse reads thus: *τὸν καλαμίσκον · τὸν χαλκοῦν ἢ ἀργυροῦν, οἵους ἔχουσιν οἱ ἰατροί.* Evidently the scholiast knew that metal tubes called *καλαμίσκοι* were used as vials, and we have here, moreover, an example of the retention of the original name "little reed," after the material has changed. See also, in connection with this passage, Pollux, x, 168. A passage in the *Geoponica* (xx, 24, p. 1257) names a *καλαμίσκος* as a temporary receptacle for use in preparing a certain mixture. Important also is a paragraph in Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant.* ix, 16, 2, whence Plin. *N. H.* xxv, 93), where the author tells us that the gatherers of dittany in Crete, where the plant grew best, used to keep the packages enclosed *ἐν νάρθηκι ἢ καλάμῳ* in order to pre-

[1] Galen, *περὶ συνθ. φαρμ. τῶν κατὰ τόπους*, i, pp. 90, 92 Aldine ed., vol. II.

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serve the pungent but volatile essence of the plant. Nobody can doubt that some of these dittany reeds found their way into the physicians' offices just as the Cretan collectors put them up; and it is also likely that the herb was now and then dispensed to patients in the original receptacles. A homely use of the reed in conveying food to hived bees may be found in Virgil (*Georg.* iv, 265) and Columella (ix, 13, 7), and passing notice may be taken of a passage in which Dio Cassius tells of letters being concealed in fowlers' reeds (lxv, 18, 2).

Turning now to the *νάρθηξ*, we must notice some evidence for the use of the natural fennel-stalk as a receptacle. Besides the Promethean *νάρθηξ*, with all that the legend implies about the primitive use of the plant, there is the Cretan use of the plant for storing dittany; and we learn from Aristotle (*Probl.* p. 923b, 24–29) and Theophrastus (*Caus. Plant.* v, 6, 4) that joints of *νάρθηξ*, doubtless the largest obtainable, were employed to shade and protect growing cucumbers. But the name *νάρθηξ* was transferred, probably from the fourth century on, to artificial receptacles. The *νάρθηξ* in which Alexander the Great kept his Homer was, according to Pliny's account of it (*N. H.* vii, 108), a splendid case adorned with gold and jewels in which Darius, to whom it had belonged, had kept perfumes. Lucian (*adv. Indoct.* 29) ridicules the ivory *νάρθηκες* affected by pretentious physicians. Hemsterhuys rightly translates "medicamentorum capsulae." Cicero (*de Fin.* ii, 7, 22) uses the word *narthecium* for a medicine-case, and such a case was among the apophoreta mentioned by Martial (xiv, 78). So well known was this use that at least one Greek physician, Heras, availed himself of the word *νάρθηξ* as title for a book on pharmacy, which is several times cited by Galen.[1]

Enough evidence has been produced, I think, to show that the use of either the reed or the fennel-stalk as a rough *πύξις* or medicine-box would be intelligible to any Greek from the fifth century down, and to both Greeks and Romans until the

[1] *περὶ συνθ. φαρμ. τῶν κατὰ γένη*, i, p. 5 *verso* in Aldine ed., vol. II; *κατὰ τόπους*, i, p. 90 *verso*. Other such titles are cited in Stephanus, *Thes. s.v. ναρθήκιον*, but I have not been able to verify the references.

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end of antiquity. Let us now examine three passages that deserve separate consideration.

The first of these is the account of Demosthenes' death which Plutarch gives on the authority of Ariston (*Vit. Dem.* 29–30). Recognizing that death was inevitable, Demosthenes had asked and received permission to write down some instructions for his friends. He was seen to bite the end of his pen as if in thought. Presently he covered his face and dropped his head; and soon there could be no doubt that he was dying from the effects of a powerful poison. He had sucked the poison from his reed-pen (*κάλαμος*). The incident becomes more intelligible when we remember that the *κάλαμος* was probably the original receptacle in which Demosthenes had procured the drug. In order to give the poison-reed the appearance of a harmless pen it was only necessary to trim and sharpen one end of it.

The second passage is from the bitter invective which Demosthenes launches against the parents of his opponent in the speech *On the Crown*, 129. The mother of Aeschines, Demosthenes charges, had abandoned herself to open debauchery *ἐν τῷ κλεισίῳ πρὸς τῷ καλαμίτῃ ἥρῳ*. Let us render this tentatively "in the shed near the shrine of the reed-hero." By many editors, the majority probably, this sentence is interpreted with the aid of a passage of similarly abusive character in the speech *On the False Embassy*, 249, where Demosthenes says that Aeschines' father taught school near the shrine of the Hero Physician. The Hero Physician is known to us, of course, from other sources. Now, putting the two statements together, commentators have identified the Hero *καλαμίτης* with the Hero Physician. Photius has *s.v.* *ἥρως* the following: *ἥρως ἰατρός, οὗ μέμνηται Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου.* Unless, as has been suggested, Photius referred to the wrong oration, he thought that the two heroes were the same. But this identification, though it may possibly go back to ancient times, is very far from certain, and with our present knowledge it seems impossible either to prove or to disprove it. This uncertainty must vitiate all explanations of the vexed passage which accept the

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identification as a working hypothesis. And yet, as we shall see, all other interpretations are open to serious objections. It seems worth while, therefore, to consider this question: if the ἥρως ἰατρός and the καλαμίτης ἥρως are the same, what does καλαμίτης mean?

Liddell and Scott define it as "hero of the probe," a contemptuous epithet for a surgeon. But κάλαμος is very scantily attested in the sense of probe. I know of no example but that cited by Liddell and Scott from Theophanes Nonnus, a Byzantine physician of the tenth century (I, p. 160, ed. Bernard).[1] The regular word for probe is μήλη.[2] Other authorities make καλαμίτης "the man of splints," referring to a use of the reed which is supported by somewhat better evidence (so G. H. Schaefer). But surgical terminology seems to have chosen for this meaning words derived from νάρθηξ rather than from κάλαμος — νάρθηξ, ναρθήκιον, a splint, ναρθηκίζειν, to provide with a splint.[3] It seems to me as easy to derive the epithet καλαμίτης from κάλαμος in its sense of medicine-tube, in which case our καλαμίτης ἥρως is a canonized Dr. Pillbox — a sort of St. Bolus.

Other explanations have been offered, which do not seek in the word καλαμίτης any meaning especially appropriate to a hero physician. Jacobs, Dissen, and Westermann hold that καλαμίτης ἥρως means the hero whose shrine is ἐν καλάμοις; that is, in some marshy place. In support of this interpretation are cited Theocr. 28, 4 (a passage which does not help much), the account of the Samian Aphrodite ἐν καλάμοις in Athen. xiii, 572 f., and schol. Patm. on Demosthenes *loc. cit.*, ἥρως οὗτος Ἀθήνησι τιμώμενος ἤτοι ἐξ ἐπωνυμίας ἢ ἀπὸ καλάμων παραπεφυκότων ⟨τῷ⟩ ἱερῷ. As for the use of a -της formation to denote the locality of a cult, there is an analogy

[1] This reference, with several other remote ones, was kindly verified for me by Mr. Kendall K. Smith, of Harvard University.

[2] See, for example, Hippocr. I, 303 Kühn, II, 829, III, 356, and the long article in Stephanus *s.v.* Cf. also Anth. Pal. xi, 126.

[3] In addition to the references given above, see schol. Ar. *Ach.* 1176. καλαμοῦν, to provide with a splint, Galen, περὶ εὐπορίστων, iii, p. 46 *verso* Ald. IV. κάλαμος = splint I have not seen, but this application of the word is hardly to be denied.

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in the epithet of Asclepius σχοινάτας ἐν τῷ ἕλει (*CIG*, I, 1444), and a local use is not unknown in the case of καλαμίτης itself; cf. Plin. *N. H.* xxxii, 121: rana quam Graeci calamiten vocant, quoniam inter harundines vivat, etc. Had we any other evidence for the existence of a "hero among the reeds" at Athens, this explanation would seem easiest; failing such evidence, it can hardly be said that this suggestion advances the problem toward solution.

Usener (*Götternamen*, p. 258) explains καλαμίτης as "offenbar Gott des Röhrichts." He probably agrees with Blass in expunging ἥρῳ from the text of Demosthenes as an interpolation, and in treating καλαμίτῃ as a proper name (cf. Suidas, καλαμίτης· ὄνομα κύριον). This course seems to me unwarranted in view of the testimony of the manuscripts and the ancient glosses. Similar is the attempt of Wachsmuth to explain ἥρως καλαμίτης as "Heros der Fruchtbarkeit," from καλάμη, stalk of grain (*Abh. d. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* XVIII, 1899, p. 44). But to fit that meaning we should expect καλαμαῖος rather than καλαμίτης.

Judeich, who accepts Wachsmuth's interpretation of καλαμίτης (*Topogr. von Athen*, p. 266), and rejects the identification of the Reed-Hero and the Hero Physician, keeps the two apart topographically, as well as in other respects. The shrine of the καλαμίτης he places near the Lenaion on the authority of Hesychius and the scholia Patmensia, while for the Hero Physician he conjectures a location somewhere to the north of the Acropolis (p. 338). But as he offers no evidence in support of this conjecture, one does not feel compelled to accept his distinction between the two heroes as final.

A different turn has been given to the discussion by those who, like Reiske and Goodwin, identify the Hero Physician with the Scythian Toxaris, of whom we have an account in Lucian's *Scytha* (1–2). The shade of Toxaris, says Lucian, had given directions through a dream about a means of ridding Athens of the plague. Thereafter he was worshipped as the ξένος ἰατρός, and Lucian describes his monument, whereon was carved a Scythian, holding in his left hand the characteristic bow of his people, and in his right what

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appeared to be a book (*βιβλίον ὡς ἐδόκει*). Following this hint, Professor Goodwin explains *καλαμίτης* in the *de Corona* as "*archer* (*bowman* or rather *arrowman*), deriving it from *κάλαμος*, *arrow*." (See his *de Corona*, *ad loc.* and Essay VI.) But there are grave objections to this view. In the first place, the cult of the Hero Physician has probably nothing to do with Toxaris; see von Sybel in *Hermes*, XX, pp. 42–43. In the second place, it is not likely that *καλαμίτης* ever meant archer. It would be strange to find an archer characterized by his arrows rather than by his bow. Besides, although the arrows described by ancient authors were often, perhaps usually, made of reeds, I have been unable to find in the literature of the classical period an example of the use of *κάλαμος* alone for *οἰστός*, *τόξευμα*, arrow. This synecdoche has been made familiar to us by some well-known examples in the Roman poets of *harundo* and *calamus* for *sagitta*.[1] We might naturally expect to find it among the Greeks also, but after a careful search I doubt whether a certain case occurs in Greek literature. *Iliad* xi, 584 does not help matters, for although *δόναξ* is a fair equivalent for *κάλαμος*, it does not mean arrow, but the shaft of an arrow in that passage. Theophr. *Hist. Plant.* iv, 11, 11, which Liddell and Scott cite as a case in point, only shows that certain kinds of reed were good to make arrows from, not that *κάλαμος* was used to mean arrow. It seems easier, on the whole, to revert to the old theory that *καλαμίτης* contains some allusion to a special office of the hero, connected with the use of the reed. "Pen-Hero" is hardly to be thought of, as most heroes were made at a time when the use of the pen was little known and little valued, so the explanation from *κάλαμος* in its sense of medicine-tube lies as near as any other. It is impossible, however, to affirm anything with certainty in a matter so obscure.

Finally, I would offer a cautious criticism regarding Lucian's Toxaris. Certain scholars have sought to identify the monument to Toxaris, which Lucian describes, with a piece of sculpture found near the Dipylon Gate, where Lucian places

[1] Compare the following, all of which are given by Lewis and Short: Verg. *Aen.* iv, 73, vii, 499; Ov. *Met.* v, 384; Juv. xiii, 80.

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the monument seen by him. So von Sybel in *Hermes*, xx, and Professor Goodwin in his *de Corona*, Essay vi. There are manifest difficulties, which are in part recognized by the supporters of this identification. For example, the figure discovered represents a kneeling Scythian, sculptured in the round (illustrations in Goodwin, p. 341). The left hand once held a bow, the right reaches towards and almost touches a flat quiver which rests on the left hip. Now Lucian says nothing about a kneeling posture, speaks not of a detached figure, but of a *στήλη*, and says that the Scythian on the *στήλη* had in the right hand what seemed to be a book (*βιβλίον ὡς ἐδόκει*). The difficulty about the *στήλη* may be overcome, after a fashion, by assuming that Lucian used the word loosely; and since he tells us that the *στήλη* was prostrate on the ground, it has been supposed that he took the front of the half-buried sculpture in the round for a high relief. On the same assumption, the *βιβλίον* of Lucian is thought to represent an imperfect view of the front edge of the quiver. But a greater difficulty lies in the verb that Lucian uses in describing the sculpture — *ἐπὶ τῇ στήλῃ Σκύθης ἀνὴρ ἐγκεκόλαπτο*. I do not believe that the verb *ἐγκολάπτω* is used of sculptural work in the round, or even in high relief; and certainly no possible view of the kneeling Scythian of the Dipylon excavations could have made it appear like a low relief. *ἐγκολάπτω* is most commonly employed in describing the incising of inscriptions; see in addition to the examples in Stephanus and Liddell and Scott, Herwerden's *Lexicon Supletorium*, *s.v.* *ἐγκόλαψις*. The language of Lucian certainly points to a low, flat relief, perhaps not standing above the common level of the slab, and relieved only against a slightly depressed background.[1]

Von Sybel rightly emphasizes the possibility that Lucian may have invented the whole story of Toxaris and his worship, for which he is our sole authority. The question is and must remain a difficult one. Those who are disposed to believe in an actual cult of Toxaris will hardly accept a story

[1] Here I agree with Salinas (*Rév. Arch.* IX, 1864, p. 365), who does not, however, note the bearing of the word *ἐγκεκόλαπτο* upon the question.

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which makes his healing powers manifest themselves for the first time on a definite historical occasion, but will rather assume that from the beginning he was a physician in popular belief. Consequently they will pay little heed to von Sybel's contention that the object which Lucian calls a book could not possibly have been a sign of the physician's art, since Toxaris was not worshipped as a healer until long after his death, while the monument was erected directly thereafter (*Hermes*, xx, p. 49). A monument connected from an uncertain past time with the name of a hero who was endowed by popular superstition with healing powers, would be likely to show some sign of the hero's office. The book-like object, which, because of the uncertainty of Lucian's language, has done more than anything else to support the erroneous identification of the Dipylon figure, may, in the opinion of these conservative readers, have been really a book-roll, since such rolls occur often as attributes of Asclepius (Roscher, *Lex. der Myth.* I, 1, col. 628). Or else, to offer a new suggestion, it may have been a small *νάρθηξ*, or medicine-case. We need no better proof of the general resemblance of the physician's *νάρθηξ* to a *scrinium* for books than the story of Alexander's *νάρθηξ*, which had served as a perfume-box before it became a repository for Homer; and a small *νάρθηξ* might well be taken for a tight roll of manuscript. It is possible, though the evidence is of the slightest, that medicine-boxes were seen in ancient works of art as attributes of the god of healing (Albericus, 20, in Roscher, *loc. cit.*). On the other hand, if we reject the whole story of Toxaris as a fabrication — as we have good reason to do — and confine ourselves to the monument which Lucian saw, as the only available residuum of truth, I should still maintain that that monument was a simple, flat *στήλη*, a very different object from the kneeling archer that has been preserved to us.

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IV — *Livy i, 26 and the Supplicium de More Maiorum*

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The object of this paper is to show that there existed from the earliest times at Rome a distinct and legally recognized mode of administering the death penalty, in which the culprit was beaten to death with rods, and that this punishment is the one commonly referred to in the early Empire by the phrase *more maiorum*. I shall therefore speak of it as the *supplicium de more maiorum*.

The famous *lex horrendi carminis* of Livy i, 26, 6, will serve as our point of departure. The young Horatius has been haled before Tullus Hostilius, charged with the murder of his sister.[1] The king appoints duumvirs, their action to be regulated by the following carmen: duumviri perduellionem iudicent. si a duumviris provocarit, provocatione certato: si vincent, caput obnubito, infelici arbori reste suspendito, verberato vel intra pomerium vel extra pomerium.[2] As to

[1] The constitutional and legal features of the case do not seriously concern us. The older literature on the case is best collected and discussed by C. R. Köstlin: *Die Perduellio unter d. röm. Königen*, Tüb. 1841, esp. 59 ff., 79 ff., 85 ff.; and W. Rein: *Das Criminalrecht d. Römer*, Lpzg. 1844, 470. The discussion in the following handbooks is also valuable — A. W. Zumpt: *D. Criminalrecht d. röm. Rep.*, Berl. 1865, I, 1, 88–99, 1, 2, 327 ff.; L. Lange: *Röm. Alt.*[3], Berl. 1876, I, 328 ff.; J. N. Madvig: *Die Verf. u. Verw. d. röm. St.*, Lpzg. 1882, II, 274; A. Bouché-Leclercq: *Manuel des Inst. rom.*, Par. 1886, 90; Th. Mommsen: *Röm. Str.*[3], Lpzg. 1887, 615, and *Röm. Strafrecht*, Lpzg. 1899, 154 f., 167[3], 528[1], 587 f. The best treatment of the case is by J. Baron: *Commentatio ad causam Horatianam*, Berl. 1870. His view is undoubtedly correct that, whereas the crime was certainly *parricidium* (cf. Festus, *sororium tigillum*), the "clemency" of Tullius (Liv. I, 26, 8) consisted in his treating it as though it were *perduellio*, where the condemned had the right of appeal. With the theories of Pais, Soltau, and others about the ultimate origin of the Horatius legend we are, of course, not here concerned.

[2] The parallel tradition appears in Dionys. Hal. iii, 22, Festus, *sororium tigillum* (297 M.) and Ps.-Aurel. Vict. *de vir. illustr.* 4, but throws no light on our particular question. For Dionysios' treatment cf. the excellent remarks of Zumpt, *op. cit.*, I, 1, 90 f. The only external check on the integrity of the carmen is Cicero's quotation in § 13 of the speech *pro C. Rab. perd. reo*, which, however,

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the antiquity of the carmen we may observe that *provocatio* was formally recognized *ab omni iudicio poenaque* by the laws of the Twelve Tables.[1] This formula, which served as precedent for such *provocationes*, and is here applicable only in the case of *perduellio*, where the appeal was probably first employed,[2] must antedate that legislation by a very considerable

makes no attempt at completeness. Internally considered the formula in Livy seems complete and harmonious. Mr. Reid, quoted in W. E. Heitland's ed. of Cicero's speech *p. Rab.* (Cambr. 1882, 3[3]), thinks the last clause an anachronism at the time of establishing the precedent. It is, however, a sacral rather than a constitutional proviso. Many penalties were restricted, it would seem, to the *campus sceleratus* at the Colline gate, the Campus Martius, the forum, the Esquiline hill, etc. For this punishment, as the case might often demand quick action, no limitations of place are specified. Cf. Mommsen, *Strafr.*, 913. Mr. Heitland's own objection on the Duumvirs is really directed against Livy's interpretation, not the carmen. Livy's direct source is not discoverable, but the *libri pontificii* were certainly the ultimate source, as is clear from Cic. *de Rep.* ii, 54. Cf. A. Schwegler: *Röm. Gesch.*, Tüb. 1853, I, 594; Lange, *op. cit.* I, 382; J. R. Seely, *Livy*, Book i, pref. p. 43, and on i, 26, 9; E. Brunnenmeister: *D. Tödtungsverbr. im altröm. Recht*, Lpzg. 1887, 114[6], 210[2]; von Premerstein: *Commentarii*, P.-W. IV, 728. The objection of T. H. Dyer, *Hist. of the Kings of Rome*, Phil. 1867, 196, is trifling. Cicero's statement (*pro. C. Rab. perd.* 15) that Labienus drew his precedents *ex annalium monumentis atque ex regum commentariis*, referring directly to this carmen, merely strengthens our conclusions. *Annalium monumenta* is the vaguest kind of an expression, while the *regum commentarii* agree so often exactly in form and content with the *libri pontificii* and the *censoriae tabellae*, that their source is unquestionable, whether, as Mommsen thought, the *reg. comm.* were merely a designation for "die pontifikale Sakralordnung überhaupt," or, as seems more probable, they were a late forgery pieced together out of fragments of genuine tradition. W. Soltau's recent handling of the Horatius legend (*W. Kl. Ph.* 1908, 1269 ff.) is plausible, but I cannot believe that a mere drama of Ennius could have so imposed on the pontifices that they set the precedent for *provocatio* in the regal period without any confirmatory evidence. In any event the carmen is genuine; it could not have been invented by Ennius, and whether the case to which it is attached belongs to the regal period or not, it surely antedated the legislation of the XII Tables as appears below.

One point in the story, the use of the *iugum* (elsewhere employed only for captured enemies), deserves attention. Dionysios connects it with the purification (*τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καθαρμοῖς ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ τελευτῶντες ὑπήγαγον τὸν Ὁράτιον ὑπὸ ζυγόν*), thereby confirming Mr. Frazer's brilliant conjecture (*Golden Bough*[3], II, 406 ff.) supported by a mass of testimony from other peoples, that the idea back of the Roman use of the *iugum* was "to strip the foe of his malignant and hostile powers before dismissing him." In Horatius' case it was used unquestionably to cleanse from the stain of a kinsman's blood.

[1] Cic. *de Rep.* ii, 54, Bruns, *Fontes*[6], no. 5 inc. sedis.

[2] cf. Baron, *op. cit.* n. 1.

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period of time. There is indeed no reason to question Cicero's declaration *provocationem . . . etiam a regibus fuisse.*[1]

Regarding now its interpretation, many scholars, emphasizing the phrase *infelici arbori reste suspendito*, have thought that hanging was meant.[2] This view is, however, untenable from the following considerations. In the first place the order of the different stages in the execution is (1) veiling the head, (2) hanging or fastening to a tree, (3) scourging; and it is interesting to note that a few paragraphs further on, where the young man's father delivers an impassioned speech in his son's behalf, precisely the same order is followed. Now few things could be more absurd than to begin the scourging of a criminal only after the body was dangling from a noose at some distance from the ground. The blows would necessarily be ineffective, and the culprit dead before he had suffered seriously. To be sure this very obvious objection is met by many with the assertion that the scourging is mentioned merely "als Nebensache nach der Hinrichtung" — to use the words of Moritz Müller.[3] This interpretation is forced and improbable. No similar hysteron-proteron has been cited as a parallel,[4] and it is very doubtful if one can be

[1] No weight can be laid on the assignment of the precedent to Tullus Hostilius. The grounds were probably only too slight, when any existed at all, for assigning an institution to any individual king. Cicero (*p. Rab.* 12) speaks of these *cruciatus carmina* as the invention of Tarquin, *superbissimi atque crudelissimi regis*, but that is mere rhetoric. All cruel punishments were summed up as inventions of Tarquin. Cf. Suet. *de Regibus*, frg. 178, and the later tradition dependent upon him, collected there by Reifferscheid.

[2] For example, Niebuhr, *Röm. Gesch.*[4] Berl. 1833, 1, 365; Köstlin, *op. cit.* 125; Rein, *op. cit.* 472; Dyer, *op. cit.* 175; E. C. Clark: *Early Roman Law*, Lond. 1872, 61; Ph. Degen, *Das Kreuz als Strafwerkzeug u. Strafe der Alten*, Aachen, 1873–4, 22; H. Fulda, *Das Kreuz u. d. Kreuzigung*, Bresl. 1878, 55; C. Peter, *Gesch. Roms*[4], Halle, 1881, 1, 29; K. Tücking ed. Book i[2], 1887, *ad loc.;* M. Müller, ed.[2], 1888, *ad loc.;* A. H. Greenidge, *Roman Publ. Life*, Lond. 1901, 8 (cf. 106); Forcellini, and Lewis and Short, in their lexicons *s.v.*, *et al.*

[3] *l.c.* So also Weissenborn-Müller ed.[8], 1885, though interpreting the punishment as crucifixion.

[4] To be sure Mommsen, *Strafrecht*, 938[8], cites the *provocatio* formula as — necare *et* verberare — insisting at the same time that a single punishment, scourging *followed by* execution, was meant (42[4]). In this last assertion he is clearly wrong, and the form in which he quotes the formula is not accurate. It reads in Cic. *de Rep.* ii, 54 necaret *neve* verberaret, in Val. Max. iv, 1, 1 verberare

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found in Roman Law, for if any branch of literature was uninfluenced by rhetorical considerations, certainly it was the legal codes and formulas. But such an arrangement is not even rhetorically effective. The essential element in the punishment would thus occupy the position of *least* emphasis, being neither first nor last. And more than that, in the impassioned speech of the father later on in the chapter, not only is the same order observed as in the carmen, but precisely the scourging is singled out as the most atrocious feature of the punishment.[1] The burden of proof is clearly upon those who assume an inversion here, and until satisfactory reasons are adduced for the change from the natural order, and exact parallels cited, we are justified in rejecting this explanation.[2]

Again, it is certain that *suspendere* even when used to describe corporal punishment does not necessarily mean hanging by the neck. So Nymphodorus of Aetna was *suspensus in sinistro quodam* during the régime of Verres,[3] and though he remained there a long time, he escaped finally with his life; Ammianus in telling how a mutinous soldier, Petrus Valromeres, was fastened to a whipping-post and scourged, uses these words: post terga manibus vinctis suspendi praecipit (Marcus),[4] and then goes on to relate how the culprit survived and met his death finally some other way; and Ausonius describes Amor as *in excelso suspensum stipite*,[5] though he was merely bound to the tree by tendrils and

[illegible] necare. So Livy (x, 9, 5) says the lex Porcia provided for a penalty, — si quis verberaverit necaverit civem Romanum. So the phrase in Cic. *Le.* 62 [illegible] *de verbera* must be interpreted in the light of these parallels, and not as a historion proteron. Among a people like the Roman, with a highly developed sense of personal dignity, it is perfectly natural that the *provocatio* to the people might have been employed to save one from the infamy of the scourge.

[1] *Et hunccine, quem modo decoratum ovantemque victoria incedentem vidistis, [illegible], eum sub furca vinctum inter verbera et cruciatus videre potestis?*

[2] So certain was Lipsius, *De Cruce*, 2, 2 (1592, cited by the ed. of the *Opera*, Vesaliae, 1675, vol. III), that crucifixion was intended that he unconsciously changed the order of the very formula: horrendum carmen diserte canebat: Verberet intra aut extra pomerium: *et tum denique suscinebat:* arbori infelici suspendito (!).

[3] Cic. *in Verr.* III, 57.

[4] XV, 7, 4.

[5] *Cupido cruciatur*, 59.

creeping plants. A not uncommon meaning of *suspendere* is "rest upon," and it is attested for all periods of the language,[1] while such an interpretation of the word in this connection is singularly sustained by a gloss of Nonius on the very phrase in the carmen as quoted by Cicero.[2] It is to this effect: suspensum dicitur alte ligatum: M. Tullius in Verrem (sic) arbori infelici suspendito. It is obvious then that the technical meaning of the phrase here is not "hang from" but "fasten to" a tree.[3] This view is in strict accord with the rare use of the locative *arbori*, the only example of this form in the language,[4] instead of the ablative with or without preposition, which is the only construction with *suspendere* in the sense of "hang from."[5] Taken strictly the phrase

[1] cf. Livy xxxviii, 7, 9 suspenso fulturis ab hostibus muro ; Verg. *Aen.* viii, 190 saxis suspensam hanc aspice rupem ; Pliny, xxxiii, 21 tellus ligneis columnis suspenditur; Quintilian xi, 3, 125 dexter (pes) . . . summis digitis suspenditur; Florus, iii, 5, 16 nuntius . . . utre suspensus et pedibus iter gubernans . . . evaserat ; Oros. vi, 2, 14 — of the same incident — duobus utribus suspensus . . . VII milia transmeavit; an exact parallel is Claudian *in Ruf.* iii, 282 Illum (Perseum) vilis amor suspensae virginis (Andromedae) egit. Other passages as conclusive, though not more striking, are Cic. *frg. philos.* 5, 76; Sen. *Ep.* 41, 3; Columella, xii, 18; Lucan, iii, 396; Sil. Ital. iii, 556; xii, 532; Pliny, xvi, 156, and cf. Gronov's excellent note on Sen. *Ep.* 84, 12.

[2] The note may be derived from the Commentaries of Asconius. The oration dates from the period 65–52, within which fall all the orations we know Asconius worked on, and it offered a tempting field for an antiquarian. The form of the quotation, *suspensum*, not *suspendito*, makes it not impossible that Asconius had cited, as parallel, the XII Tab. law against the harvest thief — *suspensum Cereri necari*, tab. 8, 8 (Bruns[6]), and glossed the quotation. Nonius seems to have read the *pro Rabirio* as he cites it by this title, p. 51, 27 s.v. *lictoris*. The words *in Verrem*, however, might indicate that the citation was from a cross reference in a commentary on Cic. *in Ver.* ii, 57 where the word *suspendi* does occur. Quicherat's suggestion that the citation of this passage from the Verrines has fallen out of the text of Nonius does not seem very plausible.

[3] In the sense, of course, that the tree bears the weight, and that the feet do not touch the ground. This is evidently all that *alte* in the gloss means, and an exact parallel is that slight suspension above the ground implied in the familiar phrase of comedy *plectar pendens*.

[4] cf. Weissenborn-Müller[8] *ad loc.*, and Neue-Wagener,[3] II, 650. This form is not cited in the *Thesaurus*, nor can I find any reference to the passage at all.

[5] The passages I have found with in and the ablative, the equivalent of the locative, bear out this idea. They are the two cited above in the text from Cicero and Ausonius, and Juvenal, 6, 437 in trutina suspendit Homerum. The obscure phrase *in furca suspendere* of the *Dig.* xlviii, 13, 6 demands a word of explana-

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should mean, "hang or fasten him with a rope *on* (or *to*) a tree," not, "*from* a tree," and we have no reason to believe that the author of the formula did not use language exactly.[1]

There are furthermore general considerations of great weight against the interpretation of hanging. There is not a particle of evidence that the Romans ever hanged criminals from a gallows. To be sure they were frequently enough strangled in prison, but this seems to have been done in their cells, and the phrases used[2] distinctly imply suffocation by throttling and not by hanging. But even this practice is comparatively late, the first certain case being the strangling of Aristonikos, in 129 or 128 (Eutrop. iv, 20, 2; Oros. v, 10, 5), then that of the followers of C. Gracchus in 121.[3]

tion. As is well known, *furca* supplanted *crux* in the *Digest* after the abolition of crucifixion by Constantine (Aurel. Vict. 41, 4; Sozomen, i, 8), as in such passages — latrones . . . furca figendos (xlviii, 19, 28, 15), auctores seditionum . . . in furcam tolluntur (xlviii, 19, 38, 2), etc., and it would seem that some form of strangulation by suspension was introduced. Lipsius (*op. cit.* 3, 7) and Fulda (*op. cit.* 119) think that Isidore's description: patibulum vulgo furca dicitur . . . suspensum enim et strangulatum ex eo exanimat . . . patibulum appensos statim exanimat, means hanging by a rope around the neck. The odd use of *appensos*, however, makes much more probable E. Saglio's suggestion [art. *crux*, Dar. and Sag. *Dict.* 1, 1574, after Garrucci], that a real furca was used in shape of a capital Y, the victim's neck being caught in the fork, and held there by a rod passing across the arms.

[1] The expression *laqueum iniciebat* (§ 7) has nothing to do with hanging. The lictor was merely putting on the handcuffs as it were; cf. Mommsen, *Strafr.* 919[7], and in addition to the passages in Harper's Lex., Isid. iv, 27, 8 pedicae sunt laquei quibus pedes illaqueantur.

[2] Suffocare, strangulare, laqueo gulam frangere, cervicem frangere, guttur frangere, fauces elidere, etc.

[3] Appian, *B. C.* i, 26. Instances of private execution by state officials of course antedate these, but there is no evidence that in these cases the victim was strangled, and even here the earliest recorded instance is that of M. Claudius in 236 (Val. Max. vi, 3, 3). A little earlier is the very doubtful case of Publicia and Licinia, who were strangled by their relatives according to Val. Max. vi, 3, 8, in the year 154, though Livy, *Per.* xlviii, says merely *necatae sunt*. This was, however, not an official execution. The novellistic account of the final fortunes of Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, in Diod. xxxi, 15 relates how when he was in prison ἔρριπτο δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ξίφος πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν καὶ κάλως πρὸς ἀγχόνην, ἐξουσίας διδομένης ὡς βούλοιτο χρήσασθαι. Even if this story be true, the act was doubtless one of private initiative, and had Perseus taken the hint his death would have been a suicide and not an execution. Zumpt, *op. cit.* 1, 2, 397, asserts that this suffocation in prison was as old as the XII Tables, but cites no evidence for his view.

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Against the objection which might be raised that this case of Horatius belongs to an immemorially ancient past, and that such an argument from later usage is therefore inconclusive, can be urged the striking fact that in the *libri pontificii* there lay from ancient times a taboo against any person *qui laqueo vitam finisset*, with the severe penalty *ut insepultus abiceretur*.[1] Now this taboo was so old that by the time of Cassius Hemina its origin had been forgotten and a preposterous *αἰτία* invented to explain it, while it is obvious that no state would officially sin against a sacred ordinance of the national religion.[2]

[1] Servius in Verg. *Aen.* xii, 603, apparently on the authority of Cassius Hemina and Varro: cautum fuerat in pontificalibus libris (P. Preibisch: *Frgg. Librorum Pontif.*, Tilsit, 1876, p. 13, no. 57), ut qui laqueo vitam finisset, insepultus abiceretur, etc. . . . Cassius autem Hemina (C. Peter: *H. R. F.*[2] 1883, p. 70, frg. 15) ait, Tarquinium Superbum cum cloacas populum facere coegisset, et ob hanc iniuriam multi se suspendio necarent, iussisse corpora eorum cruci affigi. tunc primum turpe habitum est mortem sibi consciscere, et Varro ait, suspendiosis, quibus iusta fieri ius non sit, etc.

[2] To be sure, hanging was quite the classical way to commit suicide, and scores of cases might be cited of its use; but desperate human nature has always employed means of effacing itself more gruesome than the ordinary penalties of civilized communities ancient or modern.

It is interesting to consider the origin of such a taboo. I should like to offer tentatively the following explanation. It is an almost universal belief among primitive folk that the soul dwells in the breath or in the blood, or in both. [For many savage tribes cf. Tylor: *Prim. Culture*[2], I (1874), 432 f., and for a very large list of examples J. G. Frazer: *Golden Bough*[2] (1900), I, 251 ff., II, 56 ff., and 394; for the Arabs, Robertson Smith: *Rel. of the Semites*[2] (1894), 40[1]; the Hebrews, the familiar 'breath of nostrils,' and 'breath of life'; the Hellenes, Rohde's classic discussion, *Psyche* (1894), 3 f., cf. 483[1], 556, 609[3], 622[3], etc.; E. Bethe, *R. M.* LXII (1907), p. 461 f.; the Germans, E. Mogk, Paul's *Grundriss*[2], III (1900), 254, etc.] Nowhere was this belief held more seriously than among the Romans. [Cf. the custom of sucking in the soul of the dying as it escapes on their last breath. A full collection of the evidence for this seems not to have been made, though it is often referred to. The passages I have noted are Cic. *in Ver.* v, 118; Verg. *Aen.* iv, 684–5, and Servius *ad loc.;* Ovid, *Met.* vii, 680–1; xii, 424–5; *Auct. Consol. ad Liviam*, 97 and 158; Statius, *Silvae*, v, 1, 195; Justin, 33, 4. The final kiss before burial was probably a modification of this usage, for which cf. Statius, *Silv.* ii, 1, 173, and *Theb.* xii, 417. Cf. also such expressions as, anima in naso esse, stabam tanquam mortuus (Petron. 62), and, in primis labris animam habere (Sen. *N. Quaest.* iii, praef. 16). For parallels cf. Frazer, *op. cit.* II, 56 ff.] Natural death ensues, therefore, when the soul escapes through the blood or on the breath.

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An equally large number of scholars think that crucifixion is the penalty described in the carmen.[1] This view is also, I

Death by strangulation, however, when no blood is shed and the vital breath is prevented from leaving the body may well have seemed peculiarly uncanny to Roman instinct, and always was, as a matter of fact, held in special aversion. [Pliny, cf. below, calls it a *poena praepostera*. Lat. Pacatus, *Paneg. Theod.* c. 28, speaks of the *femineae mortis infamia*. Ps. Aur. Vict. *Ep.* 40, 5 calls it a *mortis genus postremum*. In the later Empire it was specifically forbidden — Ulp. *Dig.* xlviii, 19, 8, 1 — and employed only very rarely.] Numerous parallels among other nations for such scruples against leaving blood in a dead body exist [See Frazer, *op. cit.* I, 353. For the Roman feeling about life being in the blood, cf. Verg. *Aen.* x, 487 una eademque via sanguis animusque sequuntur, and Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* v, 79 in quo (sc. sanguine) est sedes animae, and iii, 67 sanguis enim velut animae possessio est, unde exsangues mortui dicuntur; on the other hand Oros. iii, 2, 8 — (Epaminondas) remota manu, qua vulnus occluserat, egressum sanguinis ac mortis patefecit introitum — is mere rhetoric], and a striking passage in Pliny (ii, 156) where he calls strangling a *poena praepostera* because of the *inclusus spiritus, cui quaereretur exitus* (cf. for the phrase *inclusus spiritus* Val. Max. ix, 12, 7), makes natural the inference that the same scruples existed at Rome against shutting up the breath of life in the body. Be that as it may, however, it remains true that the Romans never hanged criminals by the neck. This seems rather to have been a northern institution. It was from the earliest times practised by the Germanic peoples [cf. Tacitus, *Germ.* 12, 3; W. E. Wilda: *Strafr. d. Germ.* (1842) 500 ff.; J. Grimm: *Deutsche Rechtsalt.*[4] (1899), II, 257; F. B. Gummere: *Germ. Orig.* (1892) 239 ff. It was the common form of sacrifice to Odin, who hanged himself on such a tree. See Frazer: *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*[2] (1907), 244. So at the sacred grove of Upsala victims were hanged upon trees, Adam of Bremen, Migne, CXLVI, 643. The Cimbri and Teutones so treated their Roman captives, Oros. v, 16, 6. For Hellenic and other parallels to this form of sacrifice, cf. further Dümmler: *Philol.* LVI (1897), 29, A. 41; Frazer: *Ad. Att. Os.* 244; M. P. Nilsson: *Griech. Feste* (1906), 234]. It seems to have been introduced into Hellas by the Macedonians. See H. Thalheim: *Gr. Rechtsalt.*[4] (1895) p. 141. Sporadic cases not considered by Th. are the hanging of the faithless maids by Odysseus, χ, 465 ff., on which see the brilliant note by Murray: *Rise of the Gk. Epic* (1907), p. 118 f., and the lynching of the daughters of Dionysios II, by the Lokrians, who deflowered, strangled, and burned the girls, and then scattered their ashes, Strabo, vi, 1, 8 (260); this may have been a Lokrian usage, as a fairly well attested law of Zaleukos ordered every legislative innovator to present his case with a βρόχος about his neck — Dem. 24, 139; Polyb. xii, 16, 10,

[1] For example Turnebus: *Advers.* 4, 3; Lipsius, *op. cit.* I, 2; II, etc.; Weissenborn-Müller, ed.[8] (1885) *ad loc.*; Greenough, ed. (1890); Lord, ed. 1896; E. Coccia, ed.[2] (1900); C. Bötticher: *Baumkultus* (1856), 305; P. Daude: *De cap. poen. iure Justin.* (1871), 58; Ph. E. Huschke: *Die Multa und das Sacramentum* (1882), 190; E. Caillemer: art. *crux*, Dar. and Sag. *Dict.* I, 1573; Mommsen *op. cit.* 915[5], *et al.*

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believe, untenable, because of the following considerations. The covering of the head before execution is unparalleled in the many cases of crucifixion known to us.[1] Instances are furthermore numerous where the dying man talked or preached, cursed or prayed upon the cross, all of which would have been impossible with a sack over his head.[2] Equally significant is the word *reste*. It is often stated that the criminal might be bound with cords to the cross as well as nailed.[3] Many passages have been cited to establish the use of ropes, but with two exceptions they either prove nothing or have been completely misunderstood.[4] The two passages are first, Pliny,

etc. κρεμάννυμι does not, however, always mean hang, as Th. assumes. The lexica are useless here, and I have to fall back on scattered reading, but absolutely certain cases where it means crucify, are Joseph. *B. J.* vii, 6, 4; Plut. *Kleom.* 38 (cf. 39); *id. Caesar*, 2; Eusebios, v, 1, 14. Probable cases are Arrian, *Anab.* vi, 17, 2 (cf. Curtius, ix, 8, 17); Diod. xvii, 46 (cf. Curtius, iv, 4, 17), and Suid. *s.v.* †'Ιλλοῦστον. In at least one case the word seems to mean no more than hang up for a beating, like a certain usage of *suspendere* — *i.e.*, in the letter of an Antiochos cited by Athenaios, xii, 547 f. It need hardly be said that Pollux, viii, 71, and the confused statements of the Paroemiographers on τὰ τρία τῶν εἰς θάνατον, as well as Suid. εἴποις τὰ τρία κτλ. and Schol. Aristoph. *Ran.* 641, prove nothing for pre-Macedonian times. A case where a Thracian hanged captives appears in Diod. xxxiii, 18.

[1] Fulda, 143 f. (following Lipsius's note on 2, 2 — p. 1223, ed. of 1675), argues from the uncertain case of Haman in *Esther* 7, 8. This was, however, only at the arrest, while much of the infamy of the execution is lost if the face is covered. Fulda's appeal to Cic. *in Ver.* v, 72, is futile, as a careful reading of the passage shows that decapitation was the punishment here, not crucifixion. The only even similar cases known to me are the execution of Achaios (Polyb. viii, 23, 3), where the head was cut off and sewed up in the hide of an ass, and the trunk fastened on a cross, and that of Kleomenes (Plut. *Kleom.* 38 and 39), where the body was sewed up in an ass's hide and crucified, while the head was exposed. But neither of these cases is an ordinary crucifixion, as only a corpse was mishandled, while the use of the ass's hide is a mere insult, and has nothing to do with the *obductio capitis*.

[2] So the case of Jesus; of Bomilcar at Carthage (Justin, xxii, 7, 9) in 308; of St. Andrew (*Martyrol.* 30 Nov.) and of Terentius and Maura (3 May), though we may well doubt that they survived nine days; some spat on the onlookers (Sen. *de Vita Beata*, 19); and Verres had the unfortunate Gavius crucified at a point where he could *look* across the strait into Italy (Cic. *in Ver.* v, 169–170).

[3] So, for example, Lipsius, 2, 8; Fulda, 152 ff., 266 ff.; Marquardt: *Privatl.*[2] 187; Becker-Göll: *Gallus* II, 181; Hitzig, art. *crux*, P.-W. IV, 1731.

[4] *e.g.* (1) Lucan, *Pharsalia*, vi, 543, . . . laqueum nodosque nocentis | ore rupit suo: pendentia corpora carpsit, | abrasitque cruces. This is taken to prove ropes

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N. H. xxviii, 46, where he speaks of the magical powers of nails from a cross and of *spartum e cruce*. There is nothing said, however, as to how this rope was used. It may have

by Degen, 32, and Fulda, 266 f., but a glance shows that in 543 only persons hanging by a rope are meant, and in 544 only the crucified. The Schol. long ago could have settled the case, — sic ubi *aut* laqueo aliquis obiit *aut* cruce, etc. (2) Auson. *Cup. cruc.* 59 ff. Huius in excelso suspensum stipite Amorem | devinctum post terga manus substrictaque plantis | vincula maerentem multo moderamine poenae | adficiunt, etc. It seems almost incredible that Lipsius, 2, 8, should have argued from this for ordinary crucifixion. The poor ghosts in Hades used only what came first to hand; there was no opportunity for regular crucifixion. (3) Artemid. *Oneirokr.* ii, 53, that the dream of a cross ἀνδρὶ δὲ ἀγάμῳ γάμον προαγορεύει διὰ τὴν δέσιν, is treated as evidence by Lipsius, *l.c.* Yet δέσις and δέω do not mean "bind" alone; cf. Nonnos, *Paraphr.* 19, 103, of the two thieves: κέντροις ἀντιτύποισιν ἐπὶ σταυροῖο δεθέντες. Artemid. himself in the same section, comparing ships and crosses, observes, καὶ γὰρ ἐκ ξύλων καὶ ἥλων γέγονεν ὁ σταυρός; had ropes been in common use at the time, he could hardly have failed to mention them, as they would help his point greatly. (4) Fulda, 310, takes Hdt. vii, 194, where ἔλυσε is used of a man taken down from a cross, as further evidence. This scarcely deserves mention, certainly not refutation. (5) Fulda, 268, so interprets Cic. *in Ver.* v, 10–12, but falsely, as *alligantur* and *alligati* are used not of affixing to the cross, but of fastening to the *palus* for the preliminary scourging; cf. Cic. *ib.* 121; Livy, ii, 5, 6 and 8; viii, 7, 20, etc. (6) Lipsius (note on 2, 5, p. 1224) argues from Jesus' words to Peter, John 21, 18 καὶ ἄλλος σε ζώσει, for binding. To be sure, the Fathers generally interpreted the passage of crucifixion, but there is no direct evidence that this was meant, and the moment spoken of is clearly that of the arrest (cf. καὶ οἴσει ὅπου οὐ θέλεις), and not of the execution. (7) Degen, 32, and Fulda, 278, use also Hilary, *de Trinitate*, x, 13 (Migne, x, 352 A), where the body of Jesus is thus described: sed forte penduli in cruce corporis poenae, et colligantium funium violenta vincula et adactorum clavorum cruda vulnera sunt timori: et videamus cuius corporis homo Christus sit, ut in suspensam et nodatam et transfossam carnem dolor invaserit. Hilary is here describing the physical sufferings of Jesus. The tightly bound ropes, from which he suffered at arrest and during the scourging, are mentioned along with the nails. It is certainly forcing the passage unduly to infer that these ropes were upon him at the very time he was on the cross. (8) Farrar (art. *crux* in Smith-Hackett's *Dict. of the Bible*, I, 510, 513) cites as evidence the use of *ligare, alligare, deligare* for crucifixion. But in classical times these words are never used, to my knowledge, of crucifixion, but only of fastening to the *palus* for the preliminary scourging (Cic. *in Ver.* v, 161, etc.; cf. above, under 5), while the historian Licinius (*H. R. F.*[2] no. 3 from Nonius, 221, 11) distinguishes between the technical terms for fastening to the patibulum and to the cross thus: ad patibulum deligantur, cruci defiguntur. For the mention of ropes in Christian Martyrologies, see below, p. 59, n. 3. (9) Lipsius, 3, 8, interprets Ammian. xxii, 11, 9 of the death of Dracontius and Diodorus in xxxvi, 2 *iniectis per crura funibus simul exanimati sunt* of crucifixion. It has certainly nothing to do with it; the

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been used in tying the cross-beam to the upright, or hanging the cross-beam over the top of the upright, or in hoisting the criminal to his position on the cross.[1] Nails, however, are also mentioned here, so the passage is at best inconclusive. The other is in the *Ephesiaka* of Xenophon of Ephesus (iv, 2, 3), where it is observed that the hero Habrokomes was tied to the cross by the Egyptians, and the explanation immediately appended *τοῦτο γὰρ τῆς ἀνασταυρώσεως ἔθος τοῖς ἐκεῖ.*[2] No stronger proof could be given that ropes were not used elsewhere in the Graeco-Roman world at the time, and so presumably never before.[3] Very significant is Cicero's omission of the word *reste* in his quotation of the formula in the speech *pro C. Rabirio perd.* 13. Cicero's purpose is to discredit his opponent Labienus by showing that he intended to crucify a Roman citizen. He does not hesitate to misstate facts and throw dust in the judges' eyes to a degree remarkable even for him, in this oration, and scholars are agreed that his unsupported authority as to the facts of this case is slight indeed. I am convinced that any one who takes the trouble to read the speech will admit that Cicero has garbled the formula by omitting the one word *reste* which itself would have shown his audience that crucifixion could hardly have been intended.[4]

Another difficulty is the use of *suspendere*. It is not a *terminus technicus* for crucifixion, and indeed with the excep-

ankles were pierced and the men hung up to die, or more probably dragged to death, as Hector. Cf. for this latter form Curt. Rufus, iv, 6, 29 of Betis at Gaza. *Iniecti* in Ammianus is apparently for *traiecti*, which appears here in Curtius.

[1] So especially Humbert (Dar. and Sag. *Dict.* I, 1572) and Canney (Cheyne and Black's *Encycl. Bibl.* I, 959).

[2] This has been strongly emphasized by J. Stockbauer: *Die Kunstgesch. d. Kreuzes* (Schaffh. 1870), 12, and Degen, 10 and 32; Fulda, 310 f., objects to the inference, but unsuccessfully.

[3] Occasional instances of crucifixion by means of ropes do occur in the Christ. Martyrologies (*e.g.* St. Andrew, Nov. 30, Migne XCIV, 1119; Anastasia, Dec. 25, *ib.* 1141, etc.), but these examples are very late; the ropes were used for the express purpose of prolonging the suffering, and unsupported these cases cannot be used to determine the usage in classical times. Cf. W. Wayte in Smith's *Dict. of Antiq.* I, 568. Even Fulda completely rejects evidence from these sources. Cf. 70 ff.

[4] See below, p. 64 f., for a fuller discussion of this point.

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tion of a verse in Ovid's *Ibis* and two very indefinite references in Seneca, it does not occur at all before Tertullian.[1] It would be surprising, to say the least, therefore, to find it used as the technical expression in an early law, which in the ordinary course of events would have determined subsequent usage. This might under pressure be allowed to pass, however, but the last clause is conclusive: verberato vel intra pomerium vel extra pomerium. In all known cases of crucifixion, scourging preceded fixing to the cross. To scourge the culprit afterwards would be almost as futile as to scourge a man when hanging by the neck. As this point has already been handled in some measure above, it need not be pressed further here. It is significant that Cicero omits this clause of the formula also when quoting it.

There are, furthermore, general considerations of great weight bearing against the interpretation of crucifixion. In the first place, crucifixion was preëminently the *supplicium servile*.[2] This is thoroughly attested from every period of

[1] The regular expressions are *agere*, *figere*, *affigere*, *defigere*, *suffigere*, *tollere*, and occasionally *dare* and *ferre*. Rarely of the criminal, *ascendere*, *excurrere*, *salire*. The only uses of *suspendere* known to me are: Ovid, *Ibis*, 298 More vel intereas capti suspensus Achaei, where the reference is doubtless to the crucifixion of the headless corpse of Achaios (No. 4, P.-W. 1, 1384, 71) in Polyb. viii, 23, 3. [Forcellini and Lewis and Short mistranslate the word]; Seneca, *Ep.* 7, 4 Sed latrocinium fecit quis. Quid ergo meruit? ut suspendatur (cf. *Dig.* xlviii, 19, 28, 15); and *Consol. ad Marc.* 20, 3 Capite quidam conversos in terram suspendere. The Latin Fathers use it freely, so Tertullian, *adv. Jud.* 10; Lactant. *Inst.* iv, 26, 34; Hilary, *de Trin.* x, 13 (above), etc. For the use of *furca suspendere* in the *Digest*, cf. above, p. 53, n. 5. Mommsen's remark (*Strafr.* 916[3]), "Suspendere ist bei der Kreuzigung das Schlagwort," is surprising in view of the facts.

[2] The most striking passages in support of this statement, apart from the very numerous actual cases of the crucifixion of slaves, are: Cic. *in Ver.* v, 12 servos . . . ad supplicium more maiorum traditos . . . damnatis crucem servis fixeras, and 169 servitutis extremo summoque supplicio, and compare the sole defence of Gavius (170 f.), civis Romanus sum, paralleled by that of the Gallic provincial crucified by Galba (Suet. *Galba*, 9); Tac. *H.* iv, 11 servili supplicio, and ii, 72 supplicium in servilem modum; Val. Max. ii. 7, 12 perpessos servile supplicium; Vulcac. *vita Avid. Cass.* 4, 6 in crucem tolli servilique supplicio adfici; Capitol. *vita Opil. Macrin.* 2, 2 in crucem milites tulit et servili supplicio semper adfecit; Lactant. *Inst.* iv, 26, 29 infame genere supplicii, quod etiam homine libro, quamvis nocente, videatur indignum; Arnob. *adv. Nat.* i, 36 crucis supplicium, quod personis infame est vilibus.

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Roman history. Cicero's impassioned denunciations of the crucifixion of Roman citizens are familiar to all.[1] They are not only meaningless, but positively ridiculous, unless we assume that he appealed to a deep-seated abhorrence of such a punishment on the part of the average citizen. It would be extraordinary indeed to find crucifixion distinctly ordered by the most ancient formula and precedent for a crime relatively so common as *perduellio*. Again, we have no reason to believe that the Romans practised crucifixion or even were acquainted with it at the early date of this carmen. The suggestion of certain scholars that crucifixion was not Oriental in origin and that it was developed, if not originally, at least independently, at Rome, has no basis in fact.[2] To pass by all general statements of ancient writers bearing on this point, or the specific instances from legendary periods, we have absolutely certain evidence of its use in Persia during the reign of Darius from four passages in the Behistun inscription.[3] The first clear case in the west is that of Poly-

[1] Esp. *in Ver.* v, 169 ff.; *pro C. Rab.* 10 ff., esp. 16.

[2] Frazer, *op. cit.* II, 25, note, doubts whether crucifixion was an Oriental institution. Rein, *op. cit.* 913; Wächter: *De crimine incendii*, followed by Daude, *op. cit.* 57, thinks the *crux* developed at Rome out of the *arbor infelix* of the carmen. On the other hand, the word *crux* is genuine Latin (cf. Walde *s.v.*). The Sanskrit and Hebrew etymologies that have been suggested (see Zestermann, *op. cit.*; Fulda, 56 and 112; W. W. Seymour, *The Cross in Trad., Hist., and Art* (1898), 104[1]) are futile. *Crux*, however, is used in a wider sense than the mere *cross*; see below, p. 63, n. 2.

[3] These are the paragraphs, § 32, II, 76, about Fravartis; § 32, II, 90 f., Citrantakhma; § 43, III, 52, Vahyazdata; § 50, III, 92, Arakha (acc. to King and Thompson: *The Sculp. and Inscr. of Behistun*, London, 1907). That the Persian expression, which is slightly ambiguous, must mean crucifixion has been settled by W. Foy (*K. Z.* XXXVII [1904], 529[1]) from a comparison of the Susian or Elamitic version. The Babylonian version ("I raised him aloft on the wood") is unfortunately ambiguous, as is also § 153 of the code of Hammurabi, where the authorities are divided as to whether crucifixion or impaling is meant. The Jews seem not to have used the punishment. Haman's case, *Esther*, 7, 9 f., is interesting. The Hebrew expression is equivocal, but the Sept. in 7, 10 reads σταυρωθήτω (the only place in the O. T. where the verb or noun is used in this sense), and the *Apocr. Add.* 16, 18 ἐσταυρῶσθαι. The commentators vary between "crucify," "impale," and "hang"—the latest, L. B. Paton (1908), thinking that the height of the "tree" (50 cubits, 5, 14) makes crucifixion or impaling impossible. Quite the contrary, a very high cross was sometimes made as a special aggravation

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krates in 522,[1] then of certain persons in Barka about 510,[2] then of Artyaktes in 479,[3] then of Inachos in Egypt in 455,[4] and from that time on instances are numerous. In the far west the evidence is quite as complete. Examples are frequent from the crucifixion of Karthalo at Carthage about 550 on.[5] Precisely opposite is the case at Rome. With the exception of two utterly discredited statements there is no recorded case of crucifixion before 217, when some twenty-five slaves were so punished for a conspiracy at Rome.[6] This was only a few weeks after Hannibal had crucified an Italian guide, and most probably to retaliate against his severity. But in 208 the men of Salapia so treated certain captured renegades,[7] in 201, after the fall of Carthage, Scipio crucified the Roman *perfugae*,[8] and in 196 Flamininus jestingly

of the dishonor. Karthalo at Carthage (Justin. xviii, 7, 15) was raised *in altissimam crucem*, and Galba (Suet. *Galba*, 9) ordered for an unfaithful guardian *multo praeter ceteras altiorem et dealbatam statui crucem*. In any case, the number 50 is doubtless a considerable exaggeration. Some confirmation of the view here proposed may be derived from the crucifixion of victims by the Jews as late as the fifth century A.D., probably at the feast of Purim (Frazer, *op. cit.* III, 172 ff.), with which this Haman execution was connected, and if so doubtless in imitation of the traditional form by which Haman was put to death. See Sokrates, *H. E.* vii, 16; Theophyl. *Chronogr.* I, 129 (Classen); *Codex Theod.* xvi, 8, 18.

[1] Hdt. iii, 125. [2] *id.* iv, 202.

[3] *id.* vii, 33, and ix, 120 and 122; cf. von Fritzsche on Aristoph. *Thesmoph.* 930. Instances where corpses were crucified, as those of Histiaios and Leonidas, or where the ambiguous word ἀνασκολοπίζω is used, are not counted.

[4] Thuk. i, 110, 3.

[5] Justin, xviii, 7, 150; Oros. iv, 6, 8, O. Melzer: *Gesch. d. Karthager* (1879), I, 161 f.; many Hellenes in 405 in Sicily (Diod. xiii, 111, 4), which provoked retaliation by Dionys. I in 397 (Diod. xiv, 53, 5); Hanno, *ca.* 368–345 (Justin, xxi, 4, 7, Melzer, I, 314 f.); Mago in 344 (Plut. *Timol.* 23, Melzer, I, 326); Bomilcar in 308 (Justin, xxii, 7, 8 f., Melzer, I, 394 f.); captives by Agathokles in 307 (Diod. xx, 55, 2, Melzer, I, 396), and later in the same year troops of Agathokles by the Carthaginians (Diod. *ib.* 69, 5); a Hanno in 264 (Polyb. i. 11, 5); a Hannibal in 259 (*ib.* 24, 6; Livy, Per. xvii); a Hasdrubal in 255 (Zonaras, viii, 14, Melzer, II, 317); many Numidian and Mauretanian chieftains *ca.* 255 (Oros. iv, 9, 9); many Carthaginians and mercenaries in 241–238 (Polyb. i, 79, 4; 86, 4 and 6; Diod. xxv, 9); an Italian guide by Hannibal in 217 (Livy, xxii, 13, 9); the Suffetes of Gades in 206 (*id.* xxviii, 37, 2), etc. The list omits all uncertain cases, as, *e.g.*, the tales about Regulus or the Spanish chief killed by Hasdrubal, etc.

[6] Livy, xxii, 23, 2. [7] Polyb. x, 33, 8. [8] Livy, xxx, 43, 13; Val. Max. ii, 7, 12.

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threatened Alkios with the same punishment.[1] From this time on instances abound. Prior to this there is no authentic record of crucifixion at Rome.[2] The Twelve Tables specify several death penalties, but there is not a syllable about crucifixion, nor do any other legal fragments or traditions mention it. The only statements of any kind as to an earlier use are two. The first is a fragment of Cassius Hemina,[3] in which he tells us that many Romans out of disgust at the servile tasks to which they were set by Tarquinius Superbus hanged themselves, and the tyrant

[1] Plut. *Flam.* 9.

[2] It is clearly transcending the evidence to assume, with Mommsen, *Strafr.* 919[3], that Livy, iii, 18, 10, B.C. 294, refers to crucifixion: de captivis, ut quisque liber aut servus esset, suae fortunae a quoque sumptum est supplicium. Slaves were not ordinarily punished as freemen, but what form their punishment may have taken at this early period we cannot say. The only specific death penalty for a slave, according to the XII Tab., was — verberibus affici et e saxo praecipitari; this was for the *fur manifestus*. The fact that at a later time slaves were frequently crucified does not warrant us in assuming that punishment in the absence of any direct evidence. So in the famous case of the slave scourged under the *furca* at the Latin games of 489, the oldest form of the story as told by Fabius Pictor, Gellius, and Coelius, in Cicero (*de Div.* i. 55), by Livy (ii, 36), and by Macrob. (*Sat.* i, 11, 3) has not a word about the slave being put to death afterwards. This was in no case an essential element of the story, and certainly was not mentioned in the first annalistic record. On the other hand, the later (and more imaginative) authors speak of the death of the slave, Dionys. H. vii, 69 ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ θανάτου; Plut. *Coriol.* 24 εἶτ' ἀποκτεῖναι; Val. Max. i, 7, 4 ad supplicium; and so finally Lact. *Inst.* ii, 7, 20, and Arnob. vii, 39 (p. 244). No better case of the growth of a story in the telling could be found. The simple fact was that a slave had been scourged in the streets of Rome under a *furca*, no more and no less. There is utterly no evidence for crucifixion. It is surprising to see that Hitzig (P.-W. IV, 1730) cites Tert. *ad Nat.* i. 18 as connecting the cross with the Regulus legend. The comparison with *ad Mart.* 4 would have shown instantly that Tert. was using *crux* in the very broad sense of "torment," as, *e.g.*, he calls the peaks on which Prometheus was bound *cruces Caucasorum* (*adv. Marc.* i, 1). This usage is common in Latin, as the lexica show. It went so far that Julius Bassus (in Seneca, *Controv.* i. 3, 4) called even the Tarpeian Rock *illa crux*. [To be sure, Seneca, Florus, and Silius Italicus — see E. Köser's collection of the literature in his diss. *De captivis Romanis* (1904), 77 ff. — would have it that Regulus was crucified, but the whole case is fictitious at best.]

[3] See above, p. 55, n. 1. The same reappears in Pliny, xxxvi, 107. I conjecture that the earlier form of this story appears in the confused account of the invention of some strange punishment in Dio Cassius, frg. 11, 6 (Boiss.). See below p. 68, n. 9.

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to deter others from following their example crucified the dead bodies, so from this time on it became a disgrace to commit suicide. The story, improbable and ridiculous in itself, must clearly be rejected *in toto* when we note first that it is an *αἰτία* to explain why the bodies of those who meet their death by strangulation might not be buried, and second because it is a preposterously inadequate *αἰτία* for the admitted fact of the religious taboo. The other case is a servile insurrection set by Dionysios in 501, on which occasion he says the captured slaves were crucified.[1] Now it is significant that Livy knows absolutely nothing about any such servile insurrection, and even the parallel annalistic tradition as it appears in Dio Cassius,[2] though giving all the essential details of the story, says of the slaves simply *ἔφθειραν*. It is obvious that even were this tradition well attested, which it is not, no recorder of any of the most ancient *annales*, which were brief and pithy to an extraordinary degree, would have wasted his time in specifying the exact punishment meted out to a handful of mutinous slaves. Certainly no similar record has been saved for a space of nearly three hundred years that follow. The conclusion is inevitable that Dionysios in this passage was simply drawing upon his imagination — his first and most important source. There remains but the testimony of Cicero. He does indeed distinctly imply that this carmen provided for crucifixion, and he does so with the definite purpose of appealing to every Roman's prejudice against that penalty, to the confusion of the prosecutor Labienus. Throughout the whole oration his attitude is so shifty and misleading that his unsupported testimony is commonly admitted to be untrustworthy.[3] We have already seen how he omitted significant

[1] v, 51 *ἀνεσκολοπίσθησαν ἅπαντες*. The earliest Latin version by Lapo Birago (Treviso, 1480) translates *e scopulo praecipitaverunt omnes*. This might cast some doubt on the correctness of the unanimous MSS tradition were not Birago's authority so weak. Glareanus (in the preface to his revision, Basel, 1532) swears he corrected 6000 errors of his! It is almost certain that Birago saw, or thought he saw, some compound of *σκόπελος* which he took as a synonym of *κατακρημνίζω*!

[2] Zonaras, vii, 13, 11 (Boiss.).

[3] So hazy are Cicero's expressions that the very nature of the case is yet under dispute. See the extensive literature on the subject cited by Schanz², § 142, 4.

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elements of the carmen telling against his interpretation, and in the light of his general treatment of the case these omissions must have been made of set purpose. We are therefore quite justified in rejecting his implication that the carmen describes crucifixion. These being the ascertained facts bearing on the case, there is no reasonable doubt but that the Romans learned to use crucifixion from their contact with the Carthaginians, and hence were unfamiliar with it prior to the beginning of the third century.[1]

Severe criticisms on Cicero's chicanery are made by Heitland in his fine edition (1882), unfortunately too long to quote, in the Introd. pp. 36, 38, on §§ 10, 13, 17, 24, 36, and the Appendix, pp. 108 and 113. The conclusion of W. Wayte (Smith, I, 567) I thoroughly subscribe to: "Cicero who is arguing against the revival of the obsolete law of perduellio, and the capital punishment of citizens in any shape, is speaking rhetorically throughout: he quotes the formula without the word *reste*, a misleading and doubtless intentional omission, and talks vaguely of the cross (§§ 10, 11, 16) and of the detested Tarquin (§ 13). No historical conclusions can be drawn from a speech so obviously designed to confuse the questions at issue."

[1] A word should be said here about Mommsen's strange identification of crucifixion with the *more maiorum* punishment. To avoid any danger of misinterpretation, I give his own words as they appear in *Cosmopolis*, II (1896), 235 [the account in *Röm. Strafr.* 918 f. is only a repetition of this]: "Die ordentliche Todesstrafe wurde jetzt die Kreuzigung, gleichzeitig für Freie wie für Sklaven, oder höchstens mit dem Unterschied, dass der Freie am Kreuz zu Tode gegeisselt ward, dem Sklaven aber mit geringer Bemühung des Henkers die Schenkel gebrochen wurden, oder auch man ihn am Kreuz verenden liess. Es gehört zu dem wunderlichsten Blüten der römischen Hoffartigkeit, dass diese Todesstrafe wenn sie an einem Bürger vollstreckt wird, Execution nach der Sitte der Väter (*more maiorum*), wenn an einem Sklaven oder Fremden, Kreuzigung heisst, ja man ungescheut die Kreuzigung bezeichnete als Sklaven-Hinrichtung (*supplicium servile*)." This surprising view is for many reasons utterly untenable. The principal difficulty is, in a word, that it takes for granted Cicero's insinuated identification of the carmen with crucifixion, carries his implications to their logical conclusion, and totally disregards all other evidence. For example, there is nothing to show that the free citizen was scourged to death on the cross, nor is there a word about crucifixion in the cases (to be cited below) where it is certain that the *supplicium de more maiorum* was actually employed. In the two notorious cases where Roman citizens possessed of their full rights were crucified, those of Gavius (under Verres) and of the dishonest guardian (under Galba, see above), there is not a word about scourging to death, while both Cicero and Suetonius talk freely of the cross, and do not even mention the phrase *more maiorum* in connexion with it. In the other cases where Romans were crucified, they were either soldiers, traitors, or *perfugae*, or at least handled as such, therefore no longer possessed of the full rights of citizens; but even then there is not

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Surely some other interpretation of this carmen is necessary. This I find in that punishment which under the early empire was euphemistically spoken of as being *more maiorum*. The best description of this is in Suetonius' account of the decree of the Senate relative to the deposed Nero (§ 49): Nudi hominis cervicem inseri furcae, corpus virgis ad necem caedi.[1] Some years earlier Claudius was inquisitive enough to go to Tibur to see some men executed by a *supplicium antiqui moris*, in which we are told simply that the culprits were *deligati ad palum* (Suet. 34). Again, Domitian had some persons condemned on the charge of *maiestas* to the punishment *more maiorum*, but later, *atrocitate poenae conterritus, intercessit* (Suet. 11). This is all the direct evidence on the form of the punishment, but Tacitus refers to it three times as *more maiorum*[2] and once as *more prisco*.[3] It is very significant that of these seven cases in Suetonius and Tacitus, six are of *perduellio* or *maiestas*, the other (*Claud.* 34) being unspecified. The parallel between this punishment and the carmen of Livy is striking. The case was *perduellio*, the victim fastened to a tree or under a *furca* — as Livy paraphrases the formula (§ 10), the last act was scourging to death. The identification becomes more convincing when we collect other examples of the same punishment from an early period. They are briefly these: In the first place there are good reasons for believing that originally at Rome unfaithful Vestals were scourged to death.[4] Nor were Vestals the only women that

a shred of evidence to show that the men were scourged to death. Many other considerations, all fatal to this theory, have been presented above in the text and notes.

[1] Repeated in Aurel. Vict. *Ep.* 5, 7 ut more maiorum collo in furcam coniecto virgis ad necem caederetur, and Eutrop. 7, 15, 1, who, however, fancifully adds the absurdity of hurling from the rock, ut nudus per publicum ductus furca capiti eius inserta virgis usque ad necem caederetur atque ita praecipitaretur a saxo.

[2] *A.* iv, 30, 1; xiv, 84, 4; xvi, 11, 6.

[3] *ib.* ii, 32, 5.

[4] This is distinctly stated to have been the usage according to the oldest law by Dionys. H. i, 78, and the statement is made the more probable from the circumstance that to a late date the only women that might be scourged at all were Vestals, and they by the Pontifex. Cf. Dionys. ii, 67; Plut. *Numa*, 10; Festus (106 M.) virgines verberibus afficiebantur a pontifice, and the cases mentioned by

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so suffered, for tradition also had it that in the time of Romulus a certain Egn. Mecennius *uxorem*, quod vinum bibisset, fusti percussam interemit.[1] Be that as it may, however, it is certain that the seducers of Vestals were always so treated. After the first case, which is set for obvious reasons in the reign of Tarquinius Superbus,[2] instances follow in 470,[3] 216,[4] and finally under Domitian.[5] In all the cases it is distinctly said the men were beaten to death with rods, and this form of punishment was specifically required according to the old law cited by Cato, which provided that the seducer of a Vestal *verberibus necaretur*.[6]

This was also the legally established punishment for *occentatio* in the legislation of the Twelve Tables. Cicero distinctly says the penalty was death, and Cornutus adds that the exact form was *fustibus feriretur*.[7]

In the semi-historical case of Sp. Cassius in 483 that tradition which represents him as condemned by his own father

Dionys. ix, 40 in 270 B.C.; Livy xxviii, 11, 6 and Val. Max. i, 1, 6 in 206 B. C.; Julius Obsequens, § 8, in 180 B.C.

[1] Val. Max. vi. 3, 9; Plin. xiv, 89; cf. Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* i, 737; Tert. *Apol.* 6. Yet of course not all places where the phrase *fuste ferire* appears need be interpreted in this way. For example in the case that came before M. Popilius Laenas, where a woman *matrem fuste percussam interemerat*, it is probable that the murder was committed by crushing the head with a club (Val. Max. viii, 1, Amb. 1). The execution of wife or child by the *pater familias*, however, was a quasi-legal action and so presumably according to recognized precedents.

[2] Dio Cassius in Zonaras, vii, 8 (Boiss.) *οἱ δὲ ταύτας αἰσχύναντες εἰς ξύλον τὸν αὐχένα δίκρουν* (= furca) *ἐμβάλλονται ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο γυμνοὶ αἰκιζόμενοι* (= virgis caesi) *ἀποψύχουσιν.*

[3] Dionys. H. ix, 40: *τὸν δὲ ἕτερον οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπίσκοποι συλλαβόντες ἐν ἀγορᾷ μάστιξιν αἰκισάμενοι καθάπερ ἀνδράποδον ἀπέκτειναν.*

[4] Livy xxii, 57, 3 a pontifice maximo eo usque virgis in comitio caesus erat, ut inter verbera expiraret.

[5] Suet. *Dom.* 8 stupratores virgis in comitio ad necem caedi; cf. Pliny, *Ep.* iv, 11, 10 Celer . . . cum in comitiis virgis caederetur. Such was probably the fate of the seducer and the guilty slaves in 273 B.C., though Oros. iv, 5, 9 says merely — corruptor . . . consciique servi supplicio adfecti sunt.

[6] Festus (p. 241 M.) = Preibisch, *Frg. Pont. Lib.* p. 4, no. 18.

[7] Tab. 8, 1 (Bruns[6]). Cicero, *de Rep.* iv, 10, 12; Cornutus on Pers. *Sat.* 1, 123; Horace, *Ep.* ii, 1, 153 ff., speaks of the *formido fustis*. It is very surprising to see Mommsen, *Strafr.* 918[6], take this of crucifixion without a particle of evidence. Even Usener in his superb essay, *Italische Volksjustiz*, *Rh. M.* LVI (1901), 3, apparently misunderstood the real meaning of the *fustis* here.

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and scourged to death under his order, has been shown by Mommsen to be, if not positively true, at all events the older form of the story.[1] The same is true of the other notorious traitor, M. Manlius, in 384. The tradition which represents him as accused by the *duoviri perduellionis*, adding *verberando necatus est*, is undoubtedly the older version and has the greater inner probability.[2] With the light of this established usage for *perduelles*, it is not improbable that Vitruvius Vaccus in 329 was so treated, the decree in his case running *verberatum necari*;[3] similarly in 323 one tribe voted regarding the rebels at Tusculum *puberes verberatos necari*;[4] in 311 the Samnites had captured a Roman outpost and — verberibus foedum in modum laceratos occiderant deditos;[5] in 213 the sentiment at Rome was that the traitor Dasius of Arpi was *verberandus necandusque*.[6] From this period on there is a break in the tradition in accord with the more humane tendencies of the second and first centuries B.C. We have already seen the recrudescence of this punishment under the early empire, that heyday of antiquarian revivals. It continued late, though efforts seem to have been made to stop it.[7] Different passages in the *Digest* except *veterani* expressly, and the *honestiores* in general,[8] but it was still used, and examples are recorded at Constantinople even as late as 605 and 760 A.D.[9]

[1] See Mommsen's article in *Hermes*, v (1871), 241. The older version is preserved in Livy ii, 41, 10, that the father — verberasse ac necasse peculiumque filii Cereri consecrasse, and Val. Max. v, 8, 2 (pater) damnavit verberibusque adfectum necari iussit (cf. Plin. xxxiv, 15).

[2] cf. Mommsen *op. cit.* 252. The older version here is that of Nepos (frg. 5, apud Gell. xvii, 21, 24) verberando necatus est. Cf. also the variant preserved by Livy vi, 20, 12.

[3] Livy viii, 19, 4.

[4] *ib.* 37, 11. Val. Max. ix, 10, 1 in an inaccurate version based on Livy uses the expression *verberatos securi percuti*. He evidently took Livy to mean decapitation, and he may have been correct.

[5] Livy ix, 31, 2. [6] *id.* xxiv, 45, 2.

[7] For some late examples cf. Mommsen, *Strafr.* 985[4].

[8] Especially xlix, 18, 1 and 3. Cf. xlviii, 19, 8, 3.

[9] See *Chron. Pasch.* 8th indict. 604–5 A.D. and Bury's *Later Roman Empire*, II, 464. It is clear to me that this is the strange penalty which Dio Cass. frg. 11, 6 (Boiss.) reports as invented by Tarquin: *καὶ τότε πολιτῶν τινας ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ δήμου ὄμμασι σταυροῖς* (= palis) *τε γυμνοὺς προσέδησεν καὶ ῥάβδοις*

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We are now in a position to understand the meaning of that punishment which by a law of the Twelve Tables was meted out to the harvest thief. The regulation ran as Pliny quotes it, *suspensum Cereri necari.*[1] In the light of the sacral execution for the seduction of a Vestal, for treason, for the *occentatio*, etc., it can hardly be doubted that here the victim was fastened to a tree or furca and then scourged to death.[2]

A word more as to the *arbor infelix.* Livy glosses with *furca* (§ 10); Dio Cassius speaks of a *ξύλον δίκρουν* (=*furca*),

(= virgis) **αἰκισάμενος ἀπέκτεινεν.** *καὶ τοῦθ' ὑπ' ἐκείνου τότε ἐξευρεθὲν καὶ πολλάκις ἐγένετο.* This must be nearer the original form of that annalistic record which Cass. Hem. (followed by Pliny, above p. 55, n. 1) misinterpreted as crucifixion, and connected foolishly with another legend. Here, too, belongs the curious tradition presented in the Chronogr. of 354 and probably derived from Suet. *de Regibus* (see Reiff. *Suet. Rell.* p. 320) of Tarquinius Superbus: inter duos pontes a populo Romano fuste mactatus (est) et positus in circo maximo sub delphinos. The exact value of this clearly aetiological notice is problematical, but it is significant that its author felt that such a death was appropriate for a tyrant and *perduellis*, as the Senate later judged in the case of Nero.

[1] Plin. xviii, 12 = Tab. 8, 8 (Bruns[6]). Mommsen, *Strafr.* 631[8] and 918[6] and many others have thought crucifixion was intended, Greenridge (cf. p. 51, n. 2) and others hanging. Neither view is probable. A parallel to this fastening in a furca is the annual sacrifice of dogs who were *vivi in furca sambucea armo fixi* at Rome (Pliny xxix, 57). One wonders if, when Tiberius crucified the priests of "Saturn" on the *trees* of their sacred grove in Africa, he might not have been following some ancient Roman ritualistic precedent (Tert. *Apol.* 9).

[2] Parallel with the civil penalty of scourging to death ran the military punishment commonly called the *supplicium fustuarium.* This seems to have been the ordinary death penalty in Polybios' time, as indeed in his well-known discussion of the Roman army he mentions no other, but describes this at some length (vi, 37). Examples are rare before his time, the earliest being the *decimatio* made by Appius Claudius in 471 (Livy, ii, 59, 11, compared with v, 6, 14 and Frontinus, iv, 1, 34). Some other cases are recorded in Livy, *Per.* lvii; Sallust, *Hist.* iv, 27; Plut. *Crassus* 10; *Ant.* 39; Vell. Pat. ii, 78, 3; Tacitus, *Ann.* iii, 21, etc. Occasionally this punishment was inflicted upon rebels and ringleaders of revolt though of foreign nationality. So Caesar — de Accone . . . more maiorum supplicium sumpsit (*B. G.* vi, 44, 2), and doubtless the same penalty was later inflicted on Gutruatus, of whom it is said — verberibus examinatum corpus securi feriretur (*ib.* viii, 38, 5). The final decapitation here is merely an indignity to the corpse and has nothing to do with the execution as such. Scourging to death was not unknown among the Hellenes, cf. Soph. *Aias*, 106 and 240 ff., *Antig.* 308, and Plato, *Laws* 872 B. The **ἀποτυμπανισμός** was a different thing, however; see Plut. *Per.* 28 **ξύλοις τὰς κεφάλας συγκόψαντες.**

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in another passage of a σταυρός (=*palus*); Suetonius uses *furca* and *palus*. All are doubtless correct. The *arbor infelix* is evidently the more primitive usage; in its place for convenience' sake a forked stick was probably introduced later, or the criminal might have been fastened merely to a post.[1] Just what the *arbor infelix* was it is impossible to answer now with certainty. The definitions given by ancient authorities differ *toto caelo*, and what facts we have make it impossible to accept either.[2] The closest parallel is the regulation *am argen norden Baum henken* of the old German law. This was a dead tree with a northern exposure.[3] There is some reason for believing that the *arbor infelix* of the carmen was a dead tree, possibly a fruit tree.[4] As practically all fruit trees fork close to the ground, the criminal's hands were probably bound to the branching arms, his neck coming naturally into the crotch, where it might have been fastened by a cross-bar. The transition from this to an ordinary furca would have been an easy one.[5]

[1] In the military *supplicium fustuarium* the culprit, it seems, was not even fastened, a usage which approaches closely to the old German *Spiessrutenlaufen*.

[2] Especially Cato in Festus (p. 92 ff., Cato, *inc. lib. reliq.* 27, p. 87, 18 ed. Iordan.) followed by Pliny, xvi, 108, and xxiv, 108; and Tarquitius Priscus and Veranius cited by Macrob. *Sat.* iii, 20, 3 ff. See the classic discussion by Bötticher, *Baumkultus*, 302 ff. and 311 f.

[3] Cf. Grimm, *op. cit.* 257 f.

[4] The vulgar distinction between *felix* and *infelix* was fruit-bearing or fruitful, and non-fruit-bearing or unfruitful. In addition to the passages cited by Bötticher add Livy, v, 24, 2 (cf. vi, 31, 8), and Seneca, *Dial.* 12, 9, 1, for *felix*, and for *infelix* Vergil, *Ecl.* 5, 37 and Servius, *ad loc.* Now a dead tree has always been felt as under a sort of curse, and especially lugubrious is a dead fruit tree, or a barren fruit tree; the parable of the fig tree illustrates the general feeling. It is not impossible that a tree struck by lightning might have been meant, certainly such a tree would have been included under the general term *infelix*. Cf. Pliny xiv, 119 and xvi, 24. Possibly the line of Flamininus (Plut. *Vit. Flamin.* 9) where he calls the σταυρός, ἄφλοιος and ἄφυλλος, might point to a dead tree as the earliest usage for crucifixion, but the words are quite as appropriate of a mere beam. The use of *infelix* for the cross is not technical, occurring in the classical period to my knowledge only in Seneca, *Ep.* 101, 14 illud infelix lignum, and Min. Fel. *Oct.* 23, 11 infelicis stipitis portio.

[5] A word is here in place on the general character of the punishment. The strongest argument for its antiquity is its fearful cruelty. Other forms of death were doubtless quite as painful for the victim, but certainly none was so ghastly for the spectator to watch. The horror and aversion must have been intense as

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Many other interesting questions arise as to the relative antiquity of this punishment compared with others in use at Rome,[1] the religious significance of the consecrate dead tree-trunk or stake,[2] of the *obductio capitis*,[3] of the whipping or scourging as a purificatory rite,[4] etc., but it is impossible to treat them here.

the rods fell again and again on the quivering flesh, as the raw bones were laid bare, and ribbands of lacerated flesh dropped from the body of the victim, who alternately swooned and revived from sheer agony. Sometimes the walls of the chest and abdomen were so lacerated that the vital organs burst out (cf. the Martyrol. of the 24th of April and the 16th of July). Nor was the suffering over in a few minutes; with sturdy men it must have lasted from two to three hours or even longer. In 1685 Titus Oates, only forty-eight hours after a flogging which at first was thought to have killed him, received seventeen hundred blows on the bare back and yet survived (Macaulay, *Hist. of Eng.*, Bost. ed. I, 436 f.). The similar German custom of the *Spiessrutenlaufen* also made tremendous demands on the culprit's endurance. Austrian courts-martial were allowed to assign as high as ten double passages through the Gasse, which amounted to six thousand blows, and yet the culprits sometimes survived even this ordeal. In Germany, in 1791, a deserter was condemned to 12,000 blows; and in 1705, at Zittau i. S., six deserters were condemned to twenty-four double passages through a Gasse of 336 men, which involved upward of 16,000 blows in all. These men could not possibly have survived such brutal treatment. See on the details of these punishments, R. Wrede: *Die Körperstrafen*, Dresden, 1898, p. 423 ff. In the most recent case, that reported from Harbin, Manchuria, under date of Oct. 23, 1908 (in the American press), by a correspondent of the London *Globe*, where ramrods were used, the statement is made that "after three hours of horrible agony under the rods, the thief died." No wonder that even the brutal Domitian was *atrocitate poenae conterritus*.

[1] I venture to conjecture that it was the oldest of them all. It was certainly more brutal than any other, and hence probably more primitive. Further, it was the first stage in decapitation, the *culleus*, and hurling from the rock. These were all more merciful, and so probably humanitarian modifications of the older usage, which was then retained, largely as a matter of form, as so many other outlived institutions dragged on a mere formal existence at Rome. Its sacral character for the harvest thief, the seducer of a Vestal, etc., also points to a very high antiquity.

[2] Cf. the *delubrum*, a stake or bare trunk worshipped as a god, and a discussion of its significance in Bötticher, *op. cit.* 219 f., and O. Schrader: *Reallex. d. indog. Altert.* (1901), 862.

[3] This was a certainly a ritualistic consecration to the Manes, like that at the *devotio* of the Decii, etc.

[4] The sacral character of beating with rods is evident from the very primitive rite by which Mamurius Veturius (the old Mars) was driven out every March (*καὶ τοῦτον ἔπαιον ῥάβδοις λευκαῖς ἐπιμήκεσιν*, Joh. Lyd. *de Mens.* iv, 36). See

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the excellent discussion by Usener, *Rh. M.* XXX (1875), 209 ff., and especially Frazer, *op. cit.* III, 122 ff. Frazer's theory that the scourging "was not to intensify the agony . . . but to dispel any malignant influence" is very plausible for this and similar rites. It is not improbable that the old Romans beat to death a culprit with rods quite as much for the sake of dispelling the malignant elements from his body and hence from his fellow-tribesmen, as to punish him for his crime.

ADDENDUM

The article by R. Freiherr von Mansberg, *Die antike Hinrichtung am Pfahl oder Kreuz, Zeitschrift für Kulturgeschichte*, Vol. VII (1900), pp. 52–80, did not come to hand until the preceding pages had been electrotyped. Fortunately it contains nothing new that militates against my conclusions. Von Mansberg follows Fulda closely with occasional corrections in which he is often undoubtedly right. P. 65 f. he follows Fulda in assuming the common use of ropes in binding on the cross; p. 66 in treating Cicero, *Verres*, V, 10–12, as a case of crucifixion, using, by the way, for citation a thoroughly discredited text reading (cf. also G. Long's note on the passage), but in neither case does he contribute anything in support of the views against which I have argued in full above. P. 74 he accepts John 21, 18 and 19, as a reference to crucifixion, a perfectly untenable view, despite the Fathers. For the sake of completeness in the citation of the most recent literature, I might add W. W. Blake, *The Cross, Ancient and Modern*, New York, 1890.

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V — *Significance of Worship and Prayer among the Epicureans*

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Religious beliefs are not readily changed, and fear of contemporary criticism, and no less a lurking fear of offending the gods themselves, might conceivably have served as a check upon any pagan. The Epicurean interpretation of the pagan body of religion was only one of several that were current in the ancient world, and the Epicureans' reconstruction involved intellectual and moral courage[1] on the one hand, and, on the other, provoked misunderstanding, with a consequent passive suspicion or active abuse. Although the theological propositions of the Epicureans were, in many respects, intrinsically crude, they possessed, nevertheless, for the *sincere* Epicureans a religious value that has not always been clearly recognized; not allowing ourselves, therefore, to be misguided by the artillery of the enemy, it will be our purpose to determine from the Epicurean point of view the Epicurean attitude toward the old body of religion, the Epicurean appreciation of his own new ideal theology, and the factors in the Epicurean adjustment to existing institutional conditions, — with a view, more particularly, to defining the significance of worship and prayer according to the terms of Epicurean philosophy of religion. The habit of worship and prayer among the Epicureans, which has long seemed a veritable mystery "hid under Egypt's pyramid," possessed a clear enough theoretical value according to Epicurean premises, — whatever the actual experience of many Epicureans might have been.

The Epicurean Velleius[2] was absolutely and uncompro-

[1] Lucretius, i, 62–68, 80, 81, 945, iv, 19–20, v, 160; Cic. *N.D.* i, 85; Philodemus, Περὶ Εὐσεβείας (ed. Gomperz, 1866), p. 95, l. 19–26, p. 109, l. 10–16, p. 144, l. 7–9; Diog. Laert. x, 131.

[2] Cic. *N.D.* i, 18 and 42–56.

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misingly opposed to the old established religious beliefs, to the poets' mythologies, and to other philosophies of religion. For these he had no sympathy whatever, but only contemptuous condemnation and eloquent indignation. Lucretius has given us his view regarding the origin of religious feeling in general, and regarding the causes that had led to the then prevalent conceptions of existent gods and of commonly accepted forms of worship. Lucretius[1] analyzes current pagan beliefs, including cherished mythologies and venerable cults (as, *e.g.*, of Magna Mater, Bacchus, Neptune, Ceres, Pan, myths of Tartarus, myths of Creation), and his critical attitude enables him to explain their several origins and to trace their historicity or historical development. Such a rationalization inevitably dispelled, in large measure, the mystery of myth and cult, and left these without the peculiar fascination they had exercised over the popular mind and imagination, since dogma was robbed of its earlier virtue and reduced to the terms of man's capricious fancy. Epicurus' dogmatic denial[2] of the value of the old theology sprang from a conviction that the truth was in possession of his school. Similarly Philodemus' dogmatism[3] about the nature and existence of the gods — marking the respect that existed within the Epicurean school for the spiritual heritage left to his successors by the founder of that school — included opposition to Stoicism and other philosophies of religion, and a denial of the validity of the old mythologies, as utterly unworthy of gods, as gods!

With no thought of dropping religion out of life, with no suggestion of denying the objective existence of the gods, the Epicurean huge dissatisfaction[4] with old myths and cults,

[1] Lucretius, v, 1161–1193, 1204–1240, ii, 581–660, iii, 978–1023, iv, 580–594, v, 146–234, vi, 379–422.

[2] Diog. Laert. x, 123: *οἵους δ' αὐτοὺς οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν, οὐκ εἰσίν.* 124: *οὐ γὰρ προλήψεις εἰσίν, ἀλλ' ὑπολήψεις ψευδεῖς αἱ τῶν πολλῶν ὑπὲρ θεῶν ἀποφάσεις.*

[3] Philodemus, p. 85, l. 5–8, p. 72, l. 3–8, [cf. Cic. *N.D.* i, 32,] pp. 19–43 *passim*; cf. "L'Inscription Philos. d'Oenoanda," *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* XXI (1897), p. 391.

[4] Lucretius, i, 62–101, ii, 167–183, 581–660, 1090–1104, iii, 978–1023, iv, 580–594, v, 146–234, 1194–1203, vi, 59–80, 379–422. For a parallel to Lucretius' "burning zeal and indignation," cf. Arnobius, *adv. Nat.* iv, 28.

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as misrepresenting the truth about the gods, led to a restatement of their real character, altogether nobler, purer, and serener — as Lucretius understood life and God — and to a restatement of the gods' functioning, seemingly reduced to a minimum of all activity.[1] Epicurus' theology "so little meets the demands which the human heart and conscience make of the 'Divine,' . . . so little satisfies the requirements of philosophy, that it has been matter for merriment or contempt to his critics, from Cicero and Seneca to the Fathers, and from the Fathers to the present day."[2] Despite the metaphysical contradictions and absurdities that in time provoked the dialectic and diatribe of ridicule, the gods of the Epicurean theology inspired the sincere Epicurean with intense enthusiasm, catching for Lucretius[3] a certain glow from his cosmic fervor, that comprehended Heaven, Earth, and Hell in its intellectual grasp. To Philodemus,[4] also, the gods were truly inspiring, great and august, blessed, and in the enjoyment of a supreme felicity that human life through imitation sought to attain. The character of the gods and the nature of their functioning were originally determined to Epicurus'[5] mind by his conception of *εὐδαιμονία*, and that evaluation of human life in terms of the divine included as essential predicates, immortality and happiness, exaltation above this world of change, and a sublime indifference to mankind. The inspirational[6] power of the gods, as revealed to the Epicureans, was for them unlimited; the religious problem was counted among the big problems of life, and one of the great conditions of human happiness and superiority was an *Epicurean pious* attitude toward and holy

[1] cf. Arist. *N. Eth.* x, 8, 7.

[2] Masson, John, *Lucretius, Epicurean and Poet*, 1907, p. 291. Cf., on the other hand, Giussani, "Gli Dèi di Epicuro," in his edition of Lucretius, 1896, I, pp. 227–265.

[3] Lucretius, iii, 28–30.

[4] Philodemus, p. 106, l. 9–10; p. 128, l. 19–22; p. 123, l. 12; p. 148, l. 14–19.

[5] Diog. Laert. x, 77, 97, 121, 123, 134, 139.

[6] Diog. Laert. x, 135; Lucretius, iii, 322; Philodemus, p. 148, l. 12–19; "L'Inscription Philos. d'Oenoanda," *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* XXI (1897), p. 369, l. 2–10, col. 4: *ὅτε μὲν γὰρ ζῶμεν ὁμοίως τοῖς θεοῖς, χαίρ[ομ]εν.* Diog. Laert. x, 133.

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regard for divinity; the perfect Epicurean life[1] consciously sought, through intellectual victories, to approximate that supreme felicity. The new theology was a matter of the deepest conviction with Velleius,[2] — based at once upon intuition and, as he deemed it, irrefutable logic. About the finality of the Epicurean solution of the great problem there could be to the Epicurean mind no question; the Epicurean's intellectual emancipation was accompanied by the deepest rapture — cum maximis voluptatibus in eas imagines mentem intentam infixamque nostram intelligentiam capere, quae sit et beata natura et aeterna[3] — at the ultimate discovery of the truth about the gods, who, as bodying forth the Epicurean ideals of happiness and perfection, inspired him with most enthusiastic[4] devotion and allegiance. The Epicureans, as bearers of the truth about the gods, yielded to them a worship that was not, as Philodemus[5] saw, a result of fear of paining the gods through neglect, but which was an immediate expression of admiration for their surpassing goodness and power: —

προσεύχεσ-
θαι γὰρ ἐν τῷ περὶ (θ-
εῶν) (?) οἰκεῖον εἶναι
. . . . . φησίν, οὐχ ὡς
λυπου)μένων (?) τῶν
θεῶν) εἰ μὴ ποιή-
σομεν) ἀλλὰ κατὰ
τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τῶν
ὑπερβ)αλλουσῶν
δυνά)μει καὶ σπου-
δαιότ)ητι φύσεων.

[1] This fact has often been overlooked; cf. *e.g.* Woltjer, *Lucretii Philosophia cum Fontibus Comparata*, 1877, p. 167; Masson, *The Atomic Theory of Lucretius*, 1884, p. 168 *seq.*

[2] Cic. *N.D.* i, 43–48, 115; cf. the comparatively uncertain tone of Cotta, 61.

[3] Cic. *N.D.* i, 49; cf. the criticism of Stoic theology, 37: Ita fit, ut deus ille, quem mente noscimus atque in animi notione tamquam in vestigio volumus reponere, nusquam prorsus appareat.

[4] Cic. *N.D.* i, 45, 56, 115–117, 121; cf. Zeller, *Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics*, tr. Reichel, 1892, p. 468.

[5] Philodemus, p. 128, l. 12–22.

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The adjustment of the Epicureans to existing institutional conditions which they did not abandon, was, rather, a conservative actual participation[1] in and due observation of established sacrifices, festivals, holidays, and mysteries, although these, in part at least, proclaimed a different idea of the character and functioning of the gods; the Epicureans conformed to this institutional life, not merely, says Philodemus,[2] in a conventional, formal manner because required by law and custom but even with a natural enthusiasm, that perhaps betrays the emotional force of ancestral sentiment: —

> . . . Ἐπίκουρος φανή-
> σεται) (?), καὶ τετηρηκὼς
> ἅπαν)τα (?) καὶ τοῖς φί-
> λοις τ)ηρεῖν παρεγ-
> γυηκ)ώς, οὐ μόνον
> διὰ τ)οὺς νόμους ἀλ-
> λὰ διὰ φυσεικὰς (α-
> ἰτίας).

Indeed, in the absence of an entirely new ritual and institutional concrete expression of this new theology, the only means of approach to the gods that remained for the Epicurean was a guarded employment of the old machinery of worship, *i.e.* participation in established religious ceremonies and festivals, attendance upon temple worship and use of the ancient terminology; for all of these Lucretius[3] had an emotional appreciation as allegory, poetry, and symbolism of

[1] Philodemus, p. 118, l. 3–20; p. 127, l. 8–28; naturally the Epicureans were opposed to oracles [cf. Plut. *adv. Col.* 31, 1125 D–F, *de Def. Or.* 45, 434 D–F], nor could they properly hold priesthoods.

[2] Philodemus, p. 128, l. 5–12; *idem*, *de Musica* VH[1] 1, c. 4, 6, in Usener, *Epicurea*, 1887, p. 258.

[3] Lucretius, ii, 644–645:

> quae bene et eximie quamvis disposta ferantur,
> longe sunt tamen a vera ratione repulsa.

655–657:

> concedamus ut hic terrarum dictitet orbem
> esse deum matrem, dum vera re tamen ipse
> religione animum turpi contingere parcat.

Cf. Sellar, *Roman Poets of the Republic*, 1889, p. 368; Lucretius, v, 1161–1167, 1203, iv, 1058, etc.

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myths and cults that had the sanction of age and of law; such appreciation was, however, necessarily accompanied with a conscious intellectual reservation or withholding of intellectual assent, which sought to avoid the blinding cobwebs of superstition and the confusions of thought that attended the older pagan ritual and belief. This was much like pouring new wine into old bottles, and to a contemporary pagan an Epicurean hymning ancient formulae seemed an anomaly;[1] the Epicureans, engaging in cults and ceremonies that were in large part based upon a different idea of God, were exposed to misunderstandings, to charges of sham and hypocrisy.[2] However, while Philodemus (*i.e.* Epicurus) in general urges obedience[3] to the laws and customs, yet it was with the important reservation[4] that these did not impose aught of *impiety* upon him; this reservation strikes the keynote of the entire spirit of the Epicurean worship, for the vital element in the *pious* worship of the sincere Epicurean lay in maintaining pure and sinless beliefs about the gods, and avoiding the seduction of ancient premises that were false despite their age: —

. . . . . καὶ τὸ μέγισ-	
τόν) φησι καὶ οἱονεὶ	
τὴν) καθηγεμονίαν	[τι] καθ' ἡγεμονίαν
συνπερι)έχον (?) ἔχειν	[ὑπερ]έχον ἐκεῖν[ο
. . κ)αὶ (?) πάντα γὰρ σ(ο-	εἶν]αι
φὸν) καθαρὰς καὶ ἀ-	
κάκο)υς (?) δόξας ἔχειν	ἀ[γν]ὰς
περὶ) τοῦ θείου, καὶ	

[1] Such a situation is not without something of a parallel to-day; cf. Romanes, *Thoughts on Religion*, 1895, p. 39.

[2] Plut. *adv. Col.* c. 11, 1112 C; *Non Posse Suav. Vivi sec. Ep.* c. 21, 1102 B; Diog. Laert. x, 131; Origenes, *c. Cels.* vii, 66. Such charges lose in force through the fact that no secrecy attached to the advanced religious doctrines of the Epicureans. Cf. Lange, *Hist. of Materialism*, 1877, I. p. 100.

[3] Philodemus, p. 126, l. 12–19.

[4] Id. p. 120, l. 16–20:

δε)ῖ πάντα πείθεσ-
θαι τοῖς νόμ(οι)ς καὶ
τοῖ)ς ἐθισμοῖς ἕως
ἂν μ)ή τι τῶν ἀσεβῶν
προ)στάτ(τ)ωσιν.

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μεγ)άλην τε καὶ σε-	
μν)ὴν ὑπειληφέ-	
ναι) ταύτην τὴν	
φύσιν· ἐν δ(ὲ) ταῖς	
ἑορταῖς μ(ά)λιστ' ε(ἰ)ς	
ἐπίνοιαν αὐτῆς	
βαδίζοντα διὰ τὸ	
τοὔνομα πάντα	
ἀνὰ στόμ' ἔχειν . .	
. . . σφοδ(ρο)τέρως	π[άθ]ει σφοδ[ρο]τέρωι
κατ' ἀ(νάγκη)ν (?) . . .	κατα[σχεῖ]ν τὴ[ν
. . . τὴν ἀληθινὴν[1] —	τῶν θεῶν ἀφ]-
	θαρ[σίαν . .

No state could imprison an individual conscience, and a mental reservation was the Epicurean's prerogative, while a re-interpretation of that formal state religious material was a duty to his own sincerity. For many, the use of religious institutions older than the Epicurean school may have been merely a convenient means to an end,[2] resting upon a recognition of the fact that such institutions, with all their fallibility, often formally, though not vitally, survive the virtual death of the ideas to which they originally owed their birth. Epicurus, whose philosophy was not a militant gospel, did not wave the flag of heresy aggressively; whatever the reasons,[3] he seems never to have proceeded to the institutionalizing of his religious beliefs, — a step that would have been contrary to the spirit of his whole philosophy. At any rate, in his devotions, the *pious* Epicurean threw emphasis upon the right idea of God[4] rather than upon a perfunctory discharge of so-called religious obligations.

Reconciliation was hardly to be expected between such Epicurean freedom and a strict literal interpretation of recognized religious duties with acceptance of all their implications.

For the Epicurean theology, *piety* and *impiety* gained a new

[1] Philodemus, p. 106, l. 1–29; for parallel col., see Usener, *Epicurea*, p. 258.

[2] Cic. *N.D.* i, 44 : Cum enim . . . firma consensio.

[3] Gassendi's remarkable defence (in *de Vita et Moribus Epicuri*, iv, 4) of the sincerity of Epicurean worship emphasizes the political exigencies of the situation.

[4] cf. Lucretius, v, 1198–1203 with Epict. *Enchir.* 31.

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definition.[1] For what the Epicurean must have regarded as a religion of the letter, of the narrow and unenlightened conscience, he substituted what was more nearly a true service of the spirit, in which ritual, ceremonial barriers, craft of priesthoods, cant, broke down before that freedom which was the essence of the Epicurean's supremely individualistic *pietas*.[2] Unquestionably, in time, Epicurean rationalism[3] meant a sweeping away of many of the mysteries and traditions that passed as *religio* and an abandonment of many formal symbols sanctioned by custom and law; but the Epicurean philosophy of religion, far from contemplating a subversion[4] of religion, had as one of its great and conscious purposes[5] the establishment of a truer and purer form of worship, a refined form of *pietas* toward the gods. The Epicurean philosophy of religion made war[6] not upon the gods, but upon erroneous conceptions of the gods, whose temples and altars were to become scenes of a nobler form of worship. Only that *pietas* that was free from what the Epicureans regarded

[1] cf. Diog. Laert. x, 123: *ἀσεβὴς δ' οὐχ ὁ τοὺς τῶν πολλῶν θεοὺς ἀναιρῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ τὰς τῶν πολλῶν δόξας θεοῖς προσάπτων*; Lucretius, i, 81–83; Philodemus, p. 94, l. 9–19, p. 144, l. 7–9, p. 95, l. 19–26: *ἀλλ' οἱ πολλ(οὶ) νομίζοντες ἀσεβεῖς τοὺς οὕτωι περὶ θεῶν ἀποφαινομένους κολάζουσιν ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι (Σ)ωκράτην καί τινας ἑτέρους*. Diog. Laert. x, 10.

[2] Lucretius, v, 1198–1203:

Nec pietas ullast velatum saepe videri
Vertier ad lapidem atque omnis accedere ad aras
Nec procumbere humi prostratum et pandere palmas
Ante deum delubra nec aras sanguine multo
Spargere quadrupedum nec votis nectere vota,
Sed mage pacata posse omnia mente tueri.

[3] Plut. *adv. Col.* c. 22, 1119 D–E: *ἀλλὰ τὸν θεὸν μὴ λέγειν θεὸν μηδὲ νομίζειν, ὃ πράττετε ὑμεῖς, μήτε Δία γενέθλιον μήτε Δήμητρα θεσμοφόρον εἶναι μήτε Ποσειδῶνα φυτάλμιον ὁμολογεῖν ἐθέλοντες . . . ὅταν τὰς συνεζευγμένας τοῖς θεοῖς προσηγορίας ἀποσπῶντες συναναιρῆτε θυσίας μυστήρια πομπὰς ἑορτάς*.

[4] Cic. *N.D.* i, 115, 117–119, 121, 123, 124; cf. these attacks with 32: Atque etiam Antisthenes in eo libro, qui physicus inscribitur, populares deos multos, naturalem unum esse dicens tollit vim et naturam deorum, and with "L'Inscription Philos. d'Oenoanda," *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* XXI (1897), p. 393, col. 49[2], l. 5 . . . *ὡς οὐχὶ ἡ(μεῖς ἀναιρο)ῦμεν τοὺς (θεούς, ἀλλ' ἕτ)εροι*, etc.

[5] Cic. *N.D.* i, 45: Si nihil aliud quaereremus, nisi ut deos pie coleremus et ut superstitione liberaremur, satis erat dictum.

[6] Plut. *adv. Col.* c. 21, 1119 B; Diog. Laert. ii, 97; Cic. *N.D.* i, 36.

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as superstition, that was released from fear, that was not hampered by the necessity of seeking the favor and avoiding the anger of the gods, that scientifically repudiated belief in Providence and in a divine creation and regulation of the world, that dispensed with *divinatio*, seemed to Velleius[1] a genuine *pietas*, truly *pia* and *sancta;* these attendant conditions were a *sine qua non* of the Epicurean idea of a proper worship of the gods. From this Epicurean revision of the pagan articles of faith there sprang a new conception of the proper relation of man to God, in which — as Lucretius[2] saw the matter — an older feeling of fear, of superstition, and of unrest associated with a need of propitiation, was superseded by a splendid, confident calm, by courage and admiration.

The Academic pontiff Cotta was utterly incapable of either sympathizing with the Epicurean conception of divinity or of comprehending this step in the evolution of pagan religious experience. The chasm of infinite distance and of divine indifference, that stretched between God and man, seemed all too wide for any bridge to span, and the Epicurean worship[3] of gods who did not care for man, a worship without the pagan idea of *communitas*[4] and of *amicitia*, seemed at once barren and hopeless, futile and without justification. The older orthodox pagan, conventional *pietas* and *sanctitas*, εὐσέβεια and ὁσιότης involved a knowledge of the prescribed usages of the established apparatus of worship and were based on a

[1] Cic. *N.D.* i, 45–56; Plut. *Non Posse Suav. Viv. sec. Ep.* c. 8, 1092 B (cf. 420 B, 1101 C, 1123 A, 1124 E–F, 1101 B); Lucretius, ii, 651; Philodemus, p. 122, l. 20–29, p. 123, l. 15–26, p. 145, l. 18–21; Diog. Laert. x, 97, 135; Oxyrh. Papyr., II, n. 215, sec. col., l. 9–19 (see *Riv. di Fil.* 1906, p. 246), etc.

[2] Lucretius, cf. *e.g.* i, 83, impia facta; ii, 657, religione (i, 63, 101); iii, 16, terrores; v, 1165, horror, 1207, cura; vi, 52, formidine; *vs.* i, 79, nos exaequat victoria caelo; iii, 28, divina voluptas; v, 1203, pacata mente, etc.; cf. Verg. *Geor.* ii, 490.

[3] Cic. *N.D.* i, 115: Quid est enim, cur deos ab hominibus colendos dicas, cum di . . . homines non colant ? . . . 116: qui quam ob rem colendi sint, non intellego. . . . 122: quid veneramur, quid precamur deos ? cur sacris pontifices, cur auspiciis augures praesunt? . . . 123: quae enim potest esse sanctitas, si di humana non curant? Plut. *adv. Col.* c. 8. 1111 B: καὶ γὰρ τὴν πρόνοιαν ἀναιρῶν, εὐσέβειαν ἀπολείπειν λέγει, rings with scorn.

[4] Cic. *de Leg.* i, 21 seq.; but cf., for a contrary view, Arist. *Eth. N.* viii, 7, 4, 5; *M. M.* ii, 11.

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belief in a reciprocal relation between God and man.[1] This reciprocal relation was the keystone of the ancient belief and worship, the foundation of all organized pagan religion and ritual, and the whole pagan orthodox world shrank from the Epicureans, who *seemed* to break this mould[2] in which ancient religious prejudice was cast. Sunt enim philosophi et fuerunt, qui omnino nullam habere censerent rerum humanarum procurationem deos. Quorum si vera sententia est, quae potest esse *pietas*, quae *sanctitas*, quae *religio?* Haec enim omnia pure atque caste tribuenda deorum numini ita sunt, si animadvertuntur ab iis et si est aliquid a dis immortalibus hominum generi tributum. Sin autem di neque possunt nos iuvare, nec volunt, nec omnino curant nec quid agamus animadvertunt nec est quod ab iis ad hominum vitam permanare possit, quid est quod ullos dis immortalibus *cultus*, *honores*, *preces* adhibeamus?[3] But even among the Epicureans a belief in a reciprocal relation between God and man *did* exist, withal that the gods did not care for man; but the comparative subtlety of the Epicurean *theory* seems not to have been fully comprehended in antiquity,[4] nor, perhaps, fully realized, in *practice*, even within the Epicurean school, —and the Epicureans remained in religious isolation.[5] The deeper significance of worship and prayer depended upon the Epicurean definition of *εὐσέβεια* and *pietas*, and included a

[1] Cic. *N.D.* i, 116: est enim pietas iustitia adversum deos; . . . sanctitas autem est scientia colendorum deorum (cf. *de Dom.* 107, *Part. Or.* 78, *Planc.* 80); Xen. *Mem.* iv, 6, 2–5: *Ἔξεστιν δὲ ὃν ἄν τις βούληται τρόπον τοὺς θεοὺς τιμᾶν; Οὐκ, ἀλλὰ νόμοι εἰσίν, καθ' οὓς δεῖ τοῦτο ποιεῖν.* Cf. Sext. Emp. *adv. M.* ix, 123; Plat. *Euthy.* 12 D–14 D; Ov. *Met.* viii, 724, etc.

[2] Sen. *de Ben.* iv, 4, 1–3; Plut. *Non Posse Suav. Viv. sec. Ep.* c. 20, 1100 E–1101 A; c. 23, 1103 D; Atticus Eus. *Praep. Ev.* xv, 5, 13, p. 800 c: *αὐτῶν (τῶν θεῶν Ἐπίκουρος) ἀφεῖλε τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐνέργειαν, ἐξ ἧς μόνης τὸ εἶναι τοὺς θεοὺς ἔμελλε τὴν δικαίαν πίστιν ἕξειν.* Arrianus Epict. *Diss.* ii, 20, 23: *λάβε τὰ ἐναντία, ὅτι θεοὶ οὔτ' εἰσὶν εἴ τε καὶ εἰσίν, οὐκ ἐπιμελοῦνται ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ κοινόν τι ἡμῖν ἐστι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τό τ' εὐσεβὲς τοῦτο καὶ ὅσιον παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀνθρώποις λαλούμενον κατάψευσμά ἐστιν 'ἀλαζόνων ἀνθρώπων καὶ σοφιστῶν'.* Lact. *de Opif. Dei* ii, 10: unde ego philosophorum qui Epicurum secuntur amentiam soleo mirari, etc.

[3] Cic. *N.D.* i, 3.

[4] Modern criticism seems not to have taken the fact into proper account.

[5] Plut. *Non Posse Suav. Viv. sec. Ep.* c. 19, 1100 C.

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re-interpretation of this reciprocal relation between man and God.

The Epicureans[1] counted themselves among those philosophers who believed that the gods bestow *τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὰ μέγιστα*, but might also be *βλάβης καὶ κακῶν . . . αἰτίους*, — a theory tenable even within the circle of Epicurean theology, a theory subject, however, to re-interpretation by the Epicureans who rejected the vulgar[2] idea of divine *ὠφελίαι* and *βλαβαί*. Now, the Epicureans resented the charge[3] that their philosophy of religion robbed just and good men of their hopes and, on the contrary, claimed that divine *ὠφελίαι* were the rewards[4] of goodness, wisdom and justice, while *βλαβαί* were the penalty[4] of evil; indeed, the very greatest blessings being in store for 'piety,'[5] the salvation of Heaven was within the grasp only of such as through qualities of virtue, and wisdom, approached to kinship[6] with the gods. The Epicurean denial of the truth of the older conception of objective, concrete rewards and punishments rendered these, rather, a matter of psychological reaction. "Images of a Zeus, a Heracles, an Athena might pass in and impress the aspect and character of each Deity upon the mind, and carry with them suggestions of virtue, of courage, of wise counsel in difficulty, of many of the things which human nature is wont to seek from a higher

[1] Philodemus, p. 86, l. 21–25; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 95, 50 for the Stoic doctrine; perhaps Diog. Laert. x, 134, has a hint upon this question.

[2] Philodemus, p. 97, l. 17–25.

[3] Philodemus, p. 94, l. 19–25; p. 145, l. 11–21.

[4] Philodemus, p. 100, l. 9–15.

[5] Philodemus, p. 145, l. 11–21:

. . . τῆς ἀγαθῆς
τοίνυν ἐλπίδ(ος
τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς τὸν
τρόπον ἀποστεροῦ-
μεν οἱ καὶ μεγίστη(ν
αὐτοῖς ὠφέλειαν (ἐκ
τῶν θεῶν ὑ(πογρά-
φοντες, καὶ τὴν πο-
νηροτάτην ἀνα-
κόπτοντες α(ὐτοῖς
προσδοκίαν; . . .

[6] Philodemus, p. 124, l. 2–10:

καὶ σωτηρία(ς ἀνθρώ-
ποις διὰ τοῦ θε(οῦ κα-
ταλειπτέον, ὑπ(ογράφει διὰ πλειό(νων·
ἔν τε τῶ(ι) τρε(ισκαι-
δεκάτῳ περ(ὶ τῆς
οἰκειότητος ἢ(ν πρός
τινας ὁ θεὸς ἔχ(ει καὶ
τῆς ἀλλοτρι(ότητος·

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Power."[1] Divine rewards and punishments were visited upon possessors respectively of a true or a false knowledge of God, —

οὐ γὰρ προλήψεις εἰσίν, ἀλλ' ὑπολήψεις ψευδεῖς αἱ τῶν πολλῶν ὑπὲρ θεῶν ἀποφάσεις. ἔνθεν αἱ μέγισται βλάβαι τε τοῖς κακοῖς ἐκ θεῶν ἐπάγονται καὶ ὠφέλειαι [τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς]. ταῖς γὰρ ἰδίαις οἰκειούμενοι διὰ παντὸς ἀρεταῖς τοὺς ὁμοίους ἀποδέχονται, πὰν τὸ μὴ τοιοῦτον ὡς ἀλλότριον νομίζοντες,[2]

not, then, subject to the caprice of pagan gods, but clearly dependent upon individual wisdom and virtue, and limited, of course, to this world, with no hope nor fear on the part of the worshipper of any Hereafter. It would seem that so-called divine punishment was a purely subjective matter, the unrest of error and sin, in no way, of course, attributable to the intent of angered deities.[3] Through the mediation of worship and prayer, the intellectually gifted[4] and the spiritually equipped drew nearest to the gods, in whose care rested that form of redemption which was possible under the terms of Epicurean psychology and epistemology; worship and prayer

[1] Masson, *Lucretius, Epicurean and Poet*, p. 285; pp. 284–286, represent a great advance upon his earlier article "Lucretius' Proœmium and Epicurean Theology," in *The Jour. of Phil.*, VIII (1879), but neglect many important considerations. Pascal's interesting "La Venerazione degli Dèi in Epicuro," in *Riv. di Fil.* XXXIV (1906), 241–256, differs from the present study in many vital respects.

[2] Diog. Laert. x, 124.

[3] Lucretius, vi, 68–75: quae nisi respuis ex animo longeque remittis | dis indigna putare alienaque pacis eorum, | delibata deum per te tibi numina sancta | saepe oberunt; non quo violari summa deum vis | possit, ut ex ira poenas petere inbibat acris, | sed quia tute tibi placida cum pace quietos | constitues magnos irarum volvere fluctus, | nec delubra deum placido cum pectore adibis. Cf. Sext. Emp. *adv. Phys.* i, 19: *ἔνθεν καὶ εὔχεται εὐλόγων τυχεῖν εἰδώλων.* Atticus Eus. *Pr. Ev.* xv, 5, p. 800ᵃ: *ἤδη δὲ ταύτῃ γε καὶ κατ' Ἐπίκουρον δνησις τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀπὸ θεῶν γίνεται· τὰς γοῦν βελτίονας ἀπορροίας αὐτῶν φασι τοῖς μετασχοῦσι μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν παραιτίας γίνεσθαι.* Philodemus, p. 86, l. 13–23.

[4] Epicurean religiosity was a matter of enlightenment and its intensity was in proportion to the clarity of the vision. Cic. *N.D.* i, 49: Epicurus . . . docet eam esse vim et naturam deorum, ut primum non sensu, sed mente cernatur; Lucretius, v, 148–149; vi, 76–78; Diog. Laert. x, 139; Stob. *Ecl.* i, 66; Plut. *de Plac. Phil.* i, 7, 15; Cic. *N.D.* i, 116: sapientem; Philodemus, p. 106, l. 6, *σοφόν.*

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were but the media, the final means, in fact, of communication with the gods, whereby the Epicurean — through the saving grace of wisdom having become susceptible to the divine influence — was capable of receiving that blessing from the gods which alone, according to Epicurean thought, was a possibility. Worship and prayer completed the religious mood of the suppliant wise man, who alone could obtain from the gods what Epicureanism characterized as *μεγίστην ὠφελειαν*! Under all these conditions, the reciprocal relation between the Epicurean and his gods, resting on the worshipper's intellectual-spiritual aspiration, was completed by the reward of inspiration of a divine tranquillity, — while the consequent subjective exaltation to realize in conscience or in deed that which might have been the formal burden of Epicurean prayer constituted the test of its efficacy. . . . *τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ θαυμάζει τὴ[ν] φύσιν [αὐτῶν κ(αὶ)] τὴν διάθεσιν καὶ πειρᾶται συνεγγί[ζειν] αὐτῆι καὶ καθαπερεὶ γλίχεται θιγε[ῖν καὶ συ]νεῖναι, καλεῖ τ[ε] καὶ τοὺς σοφοὺς τῶν [θεῶ]ν φίλους καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τῶν σοφῶν.*[1]

This was a paradox that baffled the hostile jury of the school's critics, to whom worship and prayer among the Epicureans seemed incongruous, a fallacy, an offence to the Epicurean's conscience and a violation of his convictions. Inconsistency,[2] however, lay *not* in the *fact* of worship and prayer, — which, indeed, received intellectual justification in the Epicurean school, — but might consist in the *nature* of that worship and prayer. Unfortunately, no official prayer-book of the Epicureans exists (never did exist, perhaps), but speculation upon some aspects of that type of worship and prayer that possessed validity according to Epicurean doctrine, is not altogether idle. The ideality of the gods to the Epicu-

[1] Philodemus, *de Deor. Victu*, VH.[1] vi, col. 1. Seneca's phrases are misleading; *de Ben.* iv, 19. 3: quia nullum habes illius beneficium, . . . 4: nempe hoc facis nullo pretio inductus, nulla spe; as also, Cic. *N.D.* i, 116: nullo nec accepto ab iis nec sperato bono; Plut. *Non Posse Suav. Viv. sec. Ep.* c. 23, 1103 D: *ἐλπίζεις τι χρηστὸν παρὰ θεῶν δι' εὐσέβειαν; τετύφωσαι· τὸ γὰρ μακάριον καὶ ἄφθαρτον οὔτ' ὀργαῖς οὔτε χάρισι συνέχεται* is *not* true Epicurean doctrine.

[2] Decharme, *La Critique des Traditions religieuses*, 1904, p. 255.

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rean imagination and the character of the divine inspiration must have determined the limits and restricted the scope of Epicurean prayer. The best Epicureanism[1] might conceivably have felt a sympathy for that wide-spread, deep-seated dissatisfaction (expressed outside the Epicurean school), that ancient protest[2] against pagan prayers which required purification and reformation. Epicurean prayer that sought to lift the worshipper to the majestic level of the gods must needs have been an expression of the Epicurean's most exalted aspiration, and Epicurean theology — with all its refinements that recognized incongruity in the presumption and vulgarity[3] of *customary* worship, sacrifice, and prayer — could have sanctioned only petitions for those divine qualities of wisdom, justice, beauty, happiness, and repose of which the gods were the true keepers.[4] If the theory of Epicurean worship and prayer failed[5] through the frailty of human nature, it none the less remains a verity that within the scope of Epicurean philosophy there existed this possibility, at least, of securing to worship and prayer a new purity, dignity, and nobility. Though the efficacy of that worship and prayer rested upon the wisdom and purity of the individual life, it did *not* possess a *disinterested* character,[6] nor find its satisfaction or lose

[1] Εἰ ταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐχαῖς ὁ θεὸς κατηκολούθει, θᾶττον ἂν ἀπώλλυντο πάντες ἄνθρωποι, συνεχῶς πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ κατ ἀλλήλων εὐχόμενοι. See Usener, *Epicurea*, p. 259, fr. 388.

[2] Juv. 10, 346–366; Plato, *Alc.* ii, 142 E, 143, 148 C; Xen. *Mem.* i, 3, 2; Val. Max. vii, 2, ext. 1; Cic. *de Domo*, 107; Lucian, *Icarom.* 25; Philodemus, p. 145, l. 18–21.

[3] cf. Pers. *Sat.* 2, 68 seq.; Plat. *Alc.* ii, 150; Epict. *Enchir.* 31; Sen. *Ep.* 95, 50, etc.

[4] cf. Plato, *Phaedrus*, 279 B: Ὦ φίλε Πάν τε καὶ ἄλλοι ὅσοι . . . θεοί, δοίητέ μοι καλῷ γενέσθαι τἄνδοθεν, ἔξωθεν δ' ὅσα ἔχω, τοῖς ἐντὸς εἶναί μοι φίλια.

[5] Lucian, *Icarom.* c. 32; Lucian, *Zeus Tr.* c. 22; Cic. *in L. Pis.* 59; Athen. *Deipn.* v, 7, 179 D (while not true of Epicurus himself, doubtless true of Epicureans of a later date when a genius for debauchery had developed).

[6] cf. Guyau, *La Morale d'Épicure*, 1886, 177; Picavet, *De Epicuro Novae Religionis Auctore*, 1888, 110–111; and "Épicure Fondateur d'une Religion nouvelle," in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, XXVII (1893), 338; Decharme, *La Critique des Traditions religieuses*, 1904, 256–257; Pascal, "La Venerazione degli Dèi in Epicuro," in *Riv. di Fil.* XXXIV (1906), 242, 247; *Cl. Phil.* II (1907), 188.

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itself in mysticism or mere contemplation, but rather, true to the self-centred nature of Epicurean ethics, sought, ultimately, the greatest attainable happiness of the individual suppliant. Sacrifices might properly continue, — not, however, as a means of influencing[1] or of assisting deity, but more nearly as an expression of admiration for divinity; but Epicurean sacrifices, offered even in such a spirit, aimed at no revolution of the older pagan *quid pro quo* relation with the gods, inasmuch as by contributing to the religious mood of the wise man, they facilitated the reciprocal relation between the Epicurean and his gods. But with a finer sense and a deeper conviction of the proper relation of man to God, Epicurean worship, sacrifice, and prayer were the profound adoration, the inevitable tribute of veneration of the disillusioned for the permanent and the perfect in the universe.[2] Such was the spiritual uplift of the gods! Epicureanism, though realizing that God might not need man, never lost sight of the everlasting instinct of a human need of God: *τὰ δὲ τοσαῦτα λεγέσθω καὶ νῦν, ὅτι τὸ δαιμόνιον μὲν οὐ προσδεῖ[τ]αί τινος τιμῆς, ἡμῖν δὲ φυσικόν ἐστιν αὐτὸ τιμᾶν.*[3] Prayer was *not*[4] incompatible with Epicurean doctrine, but the premium that was placed upon individual intelligence raised the utility or the validity of prayer beyond the grasp of all save a few, — and the Epicurean school, by a strange irony of fate, suf-

[1] Lucretius, v, 165–166; Lact. *Div. Inst.* vii, 5, 7; *de Ira Dei*, ii, 7; Diog. Laert. x, 139; Lucian, *Icarom.* 32; Lucretius, ii, 651; Sen. *de Ben.* iv, 19, 2; Cic. *N.D.* i, 121.

[2] Sen. *de Ben.* iv, 19, 4: Propter maiestatem, inquis, eius eximiam singularemque naturam; Cic. *N.D.* i, 45: nam et praestans deorum natura hominum pietate coleretur, cum et aeterna esset et beatissima; 116: At est eorum eximia quaedam praestansque natura, ut ea debeat ipsa per se ad se colendam allicere sapientem.

[3] Philodemus, *de Mus.* VH[1]. i, c. 4, 6.

[4] Zeller, *The Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics* (tr. Reichel, 1892), p. 464, is not correct in saying "together with Providence, the need of prayer . . . is at the same time negatived," nor does the "captious argument" of Hermarchus [Procl. 66 E (Diehl) in Plat. *Tim.* 27 C] prove this at all; cf. also Schmidt, *Veteres philosophi quomodo iudicaverint de precibus*, 1907, p. 24 (Philodemus, p. 77, is most uncertain evidence). Cf. Schoemann, *De Epicuri Theologia*, 1871, pp. 337–338; Wallace, *Epicureanism*, 1880, p. 207; James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, 1908, pp. 463 seq.

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fered all the ignominy and the rancor more properly due to the impious and to atheists.

In the specific instance of the Lucretian invocation of Venus, all of the ancestral associations, — mythological, artistic, religious, poetic, political, historical, — while possessing for the orthodox pagan mind a magisterial influence, constituted for Lucretius, as an *Epicurean*, merely a time-honored, though in part false, drapery that hardly obscured the truth from any sincerely religious Epicurean. However strong the emotional appeal of older fancies might have been, the Epicurean's intellectual enthusiasm must have been reserved for the religious truth that lay behind the veiling. Only a surmise that Lucretius wrote this invocation prior to the time that he embraced Epicureanism might relieve us, to-day, of the necessity of putting an Epicurean interpretation upon it; as an Epicurean invocation, it is, of necessity, addressed not to Nature[1] nor to an abstract law of Nature, not to the Venus of antecedent antiquity nor to such a goddess robbed of her power and possessing merely an allegorical or symbolic significance, — but to the goddess of *Epicurean* theology, to whom *Epicurean pietas* could in all consistency pray,

quo magis aeternum da dictis, diva, leporem.

[1] Cic. *N.D.* i, 36: Zeno, autem, ut iam ad vestros, Balbe, veniam, naturalem legem divinam esse censet, eamque vim obtinere recta imperantem prohibentemque contraria. Quam legem quo modo efficiat animantem, intellegere non possumus; deum autem animantem certe volumus esse. Atque hic idem alio loco aethera deum dicit, si intellegi potest nihil sentiens deus, qui numquam nobis occurrit, neque in precibus, neque in optatis, neque in votis; aliis autem libris rationem quandam per omnem naturam rerum pertinentem vi divina esse affectam putat. . . .

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VI — *Contributions to the Study of the Ninth Book of Livy*

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In the present paper are collected a few observations which have recently occurred to me while preparing an edition of Livy, Bk. ix.

I. Literary Allusions and 'Hidden Verses'

It is a well-known fact that the first decade of Livy has many analogies to poetry both in its phraseology and in its coloring. These are most evident in his treatment of the regal period, and it is not surprising that Niebuhr thought that he saw in the first book traces of lays composed in Saturnian metre before what is generally supposed to be the dawn of Latin literature. Niebuhr's theory of primitive 'Lays of Ancient Rome' is now exploded, but it is becoming more and more evident that in the first decade Livy drew freely from poetical sources. In some cases the poetical influence may have reached him through the medium of annalists, but this is generally improbable, especially in the first decade. Coelius Antipater, who was one of his authorities for the Second Punic War, is said to have been a 'zealous imitator' of Ennius,[1] but the prose annalists whom Livy used in the composition of the first decade[2] were, as far as we know, little indebted to any poetical or metrical sources. It may be that the family documents of the Fabii, the Decii, and other great houses contained some more or less rude ballads and 'occasional' odes made by the literary hacks of the *collegium poetarum* to be recited or sung at banquets, and some of these may have been used by Macer and Tubero. It is obviously impossible, however, to account for the great mass of Livy's poetical elements in this way.

[1] Fronto, p. 62 N., Ennius eumque studiose aemulatus L. Coelius.

[2] Piso, Antias, Claudius, Macer, and Tubero. Of other annalists he seems to have had, at the most, a second-hand knowledge. See Soltau, *Livius' Geschichtswerk.*

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We find abundant evidence of his familiarity with Ennius, whom he mentions once (xxx. 26. 9) as the author of the famous line

unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem.[1]

That the influence of Ennius may be seen in many passages of the first decade is shown by Dr. Stacey in his able article, "Die Entwickelung des livianischen Stiles" (*Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie u. Grammatik*, x, 22 ff.). The same author adduces some striking instances to prove the indebtedness of Livy to Vergil (*Eclogues* and *Georgics*[2]) and to some other poets.

In a short article in *Harvard Studies* for 1898, Professor Morgan unearths some 'hidden verses' from Livy's work, and shows that the historian seems to have been in the habit of taking passages from the earlier poets and transforming them by some changes in the words and in their order, so that he offers us not direct quotations, but, at most, what we may call literary allusions. Professor Morgan's restorations are few in number, but sufficiently numerous to indicate that further search would reveal many more instances like those which he adduces. While working on the ninth book (with which Professor Morgan's article does not deal), I have had the good fortune to find some remarkable examples of disguised verses, some of which suggest that in any future consideration of the subject of Livy's sources room will have to be made for epic poets and 'metre ballad-mongers.' At the outset I may mention a parallelism which has already been noted by scholars, for it throws an instructive light on Livy's use of poetry. In ix. 18. 9, the words *populus Romanus, etsi nullo bello, multis tamen proeliis uictus* are evidently taken from Lucilius, 613 f. (Marx):

Romanus populus superatus ui et superatus proeliis
saepe est multis, bello uero numquam.

[1] The only other mention of Ennius in Livy is in xxxviii. 56. 4, where he alludes to a statue of the poet *extra portam Capenam in Scipionum monumento.*

[2] The parallelisms between Livy and the *Aeneid* seem, as Stacey says, to indicate that both the historian and the poet are borrowing from the same sources (especially Ennius).

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We here see our author's characteristic avoidance of a direct citation, his transformation of the words from a quotation to what seems a mere reminiscence.

c. 16. 19: nemo unus erat uir, quo magis innixa res Romana staret.

Here the combination *uir . . . res Romana staret* was in all probability suggested by the well-known line of Ennius:

moribus antiquis res stat Romana uirisque.

c. 17. 16: bene ausus uana contemnere.

The expression *ausus contemnere* is so striking that it is hardly likely that both Livy and Vergil (*Aen.* viii. 364, aude, hospes, contemnere opes) hit upon it by a mere coincidence. The probability is that both writers derived the words from a common source. The original line may have ended with the words *bene opes ausus contemnere uanas*, 'happily daring to think lightly of empty wealth.'

c. 19. 15–17: absit inuidia uerbo et ciuilia bella sileant. . . . (16) equitem, sagittas, auia commeatibus loca grauis armis miles timere potest: (17) mille acies grauiores quam Macedonum atque Alexandri auertit auertetque, modo sit perpetuus huius, qua uiuimus, pacis amor et ciuilis cura concordiae.

The phraseology of this passage, especially of § 17, inevitably suggests poetry. *Ciuilia bella sileant* suggests a hexameter ending *sileant ciuilia bella.* The original of § 16 may have contained the line:

auia formidare potest miles grauis armis.

Above all, § 17 must surely have a poetical origin, as the words run naturally into verse, thus:

Mille acies auertit et auertet grauiores,
perpetuos modo sit huius, qua uiuimus, ⟨urbi⟩ [or uiuimu', nobis]
pacis amor, sit ciuilis concordia curae.

Sīt is common in early poetry; *curae* is, of course, Predicative Dative. In these lines, apart from the substitution of *et* for *-que*, there is only one word which is not used in § 17. Note also the alliteration in the last line. We cannot, of course,

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tell from what author Livy is here borrowing, but he seems to have intended his words to be understood as an allusion to some familiar passage in a poem, perhaps in Ennius' *Annales*.

c. 32. 5–7: Consul, ubi armatos paratosque uidit, signa extra uallum proferri iussit et haud procul hoste instruxit aciem. Aliquamdiu intenti utrimque steterunt exspectantes, ut ab aduersariis clamor et pugna inciperet; et prius sol meridie se inclinauit, quam telum hinc aut illinc emissum est. Inde, ne infecta re abiretur, clamor ab Etruscis oritur concinuntque tubae et signa inferuntur; nec segnius a Romanis pugna initur. Concurrunt infensis animis; numero hostis, virtute Romanus superat.

Here Livy does not disguise the form of his original as much as he sometimes does. Some of the verses can be recovered almost entire. The following lines, though they do not, of course, profess to be a perfect restoration, will at least supply a possible setting for a number of obvious borrowings from some poem (if poem it can be called).

Consul, ubi armatos uidit ⟨pugnae⟩que paratos,
signa extra uallum proferri iussit, et ⟨inde⟩
haud procul hoste aciem instruxit. ⟨Sic propter⟩ utrimque
intenti steterunt, ⟨si forte ex⟩ hostibu' clamor
et pugna inciperet. ⟨Iam⟩ se inclinauerat ⟨hora⟩
sol ⟨media⟩; ⟨non⟩ hinc telum, ⟨non⟩ mittitur illinc.
. . . . . .
Clamor ab Etruscis oritur, cecinit tuba, signa
inlata; ⟨haud⟩ pugnam Romani segnius ⟨intrant⟩;
infensis animis concurrunt, ⟨et⟩ numero hostis,
Romanus superat uirtute.

This is not particularly poetical, but it is probably worthy to rank with many of the extant fragments of Naevius, and even of Ennius. It will be seen that the necessary changes are remarkably few.

c. 41. 17 ff.: Ante imperium, ante concentum tubarum ac cornuum cursu effuso in hostem feruntur. Non tamquam in viros aut armatos incurrunt; mirabilia dictu, signa primo eripi coepta

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signiferis, deinde ipsi signiferi trahi ad consulem, armatique milites ex acie in aciem transferri, et sicubi est certamen, scutis magis quam gladiis geritur res; umbonibus incussaque ala sternuntur hostes. Plus capitur hominum quam caeditur, atque una uox ponere arma iubentium per totam fertur aciem.

The words *scutis . . . gladiis geritur res* have already reminded scholars of the words of Ennius (*Ann.* 268 Vahl.[2]), *ui geritur res.* Wöfflin, as Stacey mentions (*Archiv*, x, 23) thinks that some lost line of Ennius contained the words *geritur res* with *gladiis* attached, an inference which is rendered more probable by Sall. *Cat.* 60. 2, gladiis res geritur. We may conjecture that Livy has given us the greater part of the lost line, namely, *scutis magi' quam gladiis geritur res.*

The words which follow may be transposed thus:

umbonibus hostes
incussaque ala sternuntur.

Similarly treated the next words become:

Plus hominum capitur quam caeditur.

The sentence *atque una uox . . . aciem* may well represent

perque aciem totam fertur vox arma iubentum
ponere.

The previous words are probably borrowed from the same source. Something like the following may have stood in the original: —

En ! ante imperium concentumque ante tubarum
Effuso cursu sese fert[1] miles in hostem.
Non ut in armatos currunt: mirabile dictu !
signiferis signa eripiunt, deinde abstrahere ipsos
ad Decium, inque aciem ex acie transferrier orsi
armati; scutis magi' quam gladiis geritur res.

I have not yet found leisure to search the other books of the first decade for disguised quotations, but there is no reason for supposing that an examination of them would not yield discoveries such as have been made in Bk. ix.

[1] cf. Enn. *Ann.* 516, (equos) fert sese campi per caerula.

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II. The Digression in cc. 17–19

These three chapters contain the well-known digression on Alexander the Great, the subject of which is stated in c. 17. 2, quinam euentus Romanis rebus, si cum Alexandro foret bellatum, futurus fuerit. Knowing as we do, both from his explicit statements to that effect and from his actual practice, how chary Livy is of inserting digressions which interrupt the current of his history, we cannot help feeling some surprise that he should on this occasion so depart from his rule as to give us in three long chapters a somewhat futile discussion of a somewhat futile question. The opening words of c. 20, M. Folius Flaccina inde et L. Plautius Venox consules facti, are hardly natural after so long a digression, and suggest that cc. 17–19 were inserted as an afterthought, their insertion being prompted by the closing words of c. 16, where Livy mentions the popular opinion that Papirius Cursor would have been a match for Alexander, if the Macedonian had invaded Italy. The purpose of this section of the present paper is to show, not only that this conception of cc. 17–19 is true, but that we have in them a youthful dissertation, an exercise composed by Livy about the age of eighteen, when he was a pupil in the school of a *rhetor* at Patavium. The first two sentences of c. 17 were, according to this view, added to connect the declamation with the previous chapter.

The evidence for the view just expressed seems to be exceedingly strong. It is unnecessary to speak at length of the declamatory nature of the passage. Surely we do not find elsewhere in Livy, except in some of his speeches, such a torrent of rhetoric. The piece commences with a commonplace, perhaps in part borrowed from Caesar, and possibly suggested by the rhetor: c. 17. 3, plurimum in bello pollere uidentur militum copia et uirtus, ingenia imperatorum, fortuna per omnia humana, maxime in res bellicas [v. l. re bellica] potens; cf. Caes. *B. G.* vi. 30. 2, multum cum in omnibus rebus tum in re militari potest fortuna. This *color* is subsequently elaborated with all the artifices of rhetoric. Balanced structure, antithetic or chiastic, with or without

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Asyndeton, meets the eye everywhere. The First Person Singular occurs ten times,[1] the Second Person Singular twice.[2] Rhetorical repetition is there in abundance;[3] there are many rhetorical questions[4] and exclamations, and rhetorical elaboration is evident throughout. To these points may be added the free use of rhetorical adverbs and particles, the ironical *uidelicet* (17. 12) and *uero* (17. 15, 18. 6), *at hercule* (18. 16), and *ne* (19. 10); also expressions which remind us of many similar turns found in Cicero's speeches when the orator wishes to pass persons or things in rapid review, — *ut omittam* (17. 6); *recenseam* . . . ? (17. 7); *referre piget* (18. 4); *quot* . . . *nominem?* (18. 12).

These few words may suffice to indicate the unusual amount of rhetoric in the three chapters. It now remains to adduce more direct evidence that they were composed in Livy's youthful days. One youthful trait has already been mentioned. Any one who has taught young students in school or college must have drawn many a broad blue pencil-mark or deep red ink-line over the words 'I' and 'me' in the compositions of his pupils, and he will realize how significant is the fact that the First Person Singular appears and re-appears with wearisome iteration in the chapters under review.

Another sign of youth is absurd exaggeration and inaccuracy of statement, a disregard of facts which arises sometimes from ignorance, sometimes from carelessness, and sometimes from a torrential flood of eloquence. An orator has always been allowed a certain amount of exaggeration, and Cicero himself says: concessum est rhetoribus ementiri in historiis; but it is hardly conceivable that Livy in his mature years could have written some of the statements which occur in the passage which we are considering. The most

[1] Sing. 17. 5 (twice), 6, 7, 14, 15; 18. 2, 5, 12; 19. 12.

[2] 18. 11; 19. 6.

[3] *e.g.* 17. 5, quod unus fuit, quod adulescens . . . decessit; 17. 11, ita reges gesserant bella, ita deinde exactores regum Iunii Valeriique, ita deinceps Fabii, Quinctii, Cornelii, ita Furius Camillus . . . ; 17. 12 f., cessisset uidelicet in acie oblatus par Manlius Torquatus aut Valerius Coruus . . . cessissent Decii . . . cessisset Papirius Cursor . . . uictus esset . . . senatus . . . ; 19. 9, 15.

[4] *e.g.* 17. 6, 7; 18. 5 (thrice), 6–7, 10, 11, 12; 19. 9 (twice).

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flagrant specimen is c. 19. 15, numquam ab equite hoste, numquam a pedite, numquam aperta acie, numquam aequis, utique numquam nostris locis laborauimus. Such a statement is so ridiculous that only the perfervid eloquence of a schoolboy could have produced it, and all attempts to explain it away are vain and useless. The words of the preceding section are little better: experti sunt Romani Macedonem hostem aduersus Antiochum, Philippum, Persen, non modo cum clade ulla, sed ne cum periculo quidem suo.

In c. 19. 3, 4 we find a series of careless statements. The assertion (§ 3) that in the days of Alexander four or five Roman armies were often in the field at the same time, fighting in Etruria, Umbria, Samnium, and Lucania, is certainly not borne out by Livy's own history, and is wildly improbable. It may be mentioned, too, that the first appearance of a Roman army in Lucania narrated by him belongs to the year 317 B.C., six years after Alexander's death. In § 4 of the same chapter we find the words *omni ora Graecorum inferi maris a Thuriis Neapolim et inde Antio atque Ostiis tenus*. Thus it seems that when he wrote these words, Livy supposed that Thurii was on the Tuscan Sea. We may, of course, try to emend *Thuriis* to something more reasonable, but if we attempt to rid ourselves of all the stumbling-blocks in c. 19 by emendation, we shall find the work difficult and by no means plausible. It is surely safer to suppose that we have a case of downright ignorance on Livy's part, an ignorance which could scarcely remain long, and which was assuredly eliminated many years before 23 B.C., which may be given as an approximate date for the composition of Bk. ix.[1] Again, the words just quoted almost imply that Livy thought that Antium and Ostia were Greek colonies, a mistake which he is not likely to have made after he came to Rome (30 B.C.?).

But the full tale of astounding blunders is not yet told. In c. 19. 7 our author states that the Roman *pilum* is *haud paulo quam hasta uehementius ictu missuque telum*. It is surely incredible that Livy at the time when he wrote his history could have spoken of the Roman *pilum* as used for

[1] See Weissenborn-Müller, n. on c. 18. 6.

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thrusting as well as hurling; even worse is his implication that the *hasta* was used for throwing, for although the Roman *hasta* was occasionally thrown by means of an *amentum*, the Macedonian *sarisa*, which he has in his mind, was never so used. Even in his mature years Livy was surprisingly ignorant of military matters, but his ignorance did not go as far as this. The Weissenborn-Müller edition adopts the desperate remedy of taking *ictu missuque* as a Hendiadys, 'in the impact produced by its throw.' This interpretation can scarcely commend itself. It is far more likely that we have once more the careless utterance of a youth.

Again, the arguments are rather poor, especially perhaps in c. 18. 18 f., where we read that Alexander might possibly have been killed if he had invaded Italy, — an argument which weakens instead of strengthening the thesis. In c. 18. 6 Livy ridicules the idea that 'the majesty of Alexander's name' might have intimidated the Romans, but he ignores the fact that it might have encouraged Rome's enemies, especially the Samnites, to take the side of the Macedonian. This blinking of facts, however, as well as the instances of repetition of current errors about Alexander's character and career, might have been perpetrated by the mature Livy; but a perusal of the three chapters will probably convince most people that the arguments in general are scarcely worthy of the historian as we know him from the rest of his writings. Moreover, one who had just written (in c. 11 [1]) a speech which reflects clearly an uneasy feeling that there was, to say the least, something 'shady' in the action of the Romans after the Caudine disaster, would probably have carefully avoided such a mention of Caudium as we have in c. 19. 9:

Romanum, quem Caudium, quem Cannae non fregerunt, quae fregisset acies?

One amusing specimen of schoolboy rhetoric need only be mentioned to be appreciated. In c. 18. 5 our author ex-

[1] See also Livy's comment at the end of the same chapter: et illi quidem, forsitan et publica, sua certe liberata fide, ab Caudio in castra Romana inuiolati redierunt.

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claims, 'What if Alexander's love of drink had grown more intense every day? What if his fierce and burning anger had done so? (And I am telling sober facts vouched for by all historians.) Do we think that these things do not impair the qualities of a general?'[1]

In this connexion one may call attention to the blaze of borrowed poetry with which c. 19 ends (see the first part of this paper), and also to the show of knowledge in the allusions to the historic sayings of Cineas (17. 14) and Alexander the Molossian (19. 10). These two elements were, of course, part of the stock-in-trade of the rhetorical schools.

I now pass to the final argument in favor of my thesis. Let us think for a moment of some of the things which would be engraven on the memory and imagination of a youth of seventeen or eighteen in the year 41 B.C. In his very young days, when he was just old enough to understand stories of war and adventure, news came of the dreadful defeat of Crassus by the Parthians, and the boy would gape with wonder and horror when he heard of those mail-clad mounted archers, victorious through their flight, who had lured so many gallant soldiers to their doom. We are not surprised, then, to find that Livy mentions the Parthians in c. 18. 6, and in c. 19. 16 refers to them in words which, taken along with the preceding context, show unmistakably the deep impression which the terror of the Parthians had left on his mind: equitem, sagittas, saltus impeditos, auia commeatibus loca grauis armis miles timere potest. It is true that the Parthian horror was much in men's minds years after Livy came to Rome, but the striking way in which he refers to them in c. 19 is not without significance when taken in conjunction with the other considerations which are here adduced.

But of all the events of his lifetime the terrible civil wars would bulk most largely in the boy's mind. It was but a few years since Pompey had been thrown down from the summit of his greatness by a still greater rival. The death of Caesar

[1] Quid, si uini amor in dies fieret acrior? Quid, si trux ac praeferuida ira? (nec quicquam dubium inter scriptores refero) — nullane haec damna imperatoriis uirtutibus ducimus?

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and the struggles and proscriptions which followed it were fresh in his memory. Now Brutus and Cassius had met their doom, and the world breathed again and hoped against hope that an era of peace had at last been inaugurated. The aspirations which found a voice in Vergil's fourth *Eclogue* (written in 40 B.C.) doubtless found an echo in many a heart at this period. What wonder then if Livy, with a naïve fear lest any presumptuous words of his should prolong the dissensions which had rent mankind for so long, uttered the pious prayer, *absit inuidia uerbo, et ciuilia bella sileant* (c. 19. 15)? — words which have no significance (and which could hardly be called flattering to Augustus) if we suppose them to have been written about 23 B.C. Compare also c. 19. 17: modo sit perpetuus huius, qua uiuimus, pacis amor et ciuilis cura concordiae, words which, though very applicable to a later date, are not, in view of what has been said, inapplicable to the year 41.

Lastly, in c. 17. 6 Livy remarks that too long a life had brought Cyrus to destruction, — sicut magnum modo Pompeium. The word *modo* gains a fresh and a far fuller meaning if we suppose that Livy wrote the passage about the year 41, when the fall of Pompey was a very recent event, still vividly remembered.

It is hoped that the cumulative force of the evidence here amassed will suffice to prove that the digression in cc. 17–19 is a youthful exercise.[1] Livy doubtless intended to revise it before publishing his history, but his intention, like many other such intentions from his time to ours, was not fulfilled, probably from what Boswell calls 'procrastination continued from day to day,' if we can without irreverence speak of procrastination in the case of a man who wrote 142 books of history, besides other works.

[1] Alexander was a favorite subject of rhetorical exercises, both Greek and Latin; see, for example, Sen. *Suas.* iii and iv, Quint. iii. 8. 16.

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III. Miscellaneous Notes

c. 9. 2: dedetis (*i.e.* to the Samnites) deinde et istos sacrosanctos (*i.e.* the tribunes, who had protested, partly on the ground of their 'sacrosanctity,' against being delivered up), cum primum magistratu abierint, sed, si me audiatis, prius quam dedantur, hic in comitio uirgis caesos, hanc iam ut intercalatae poenae usuram habeant.

Intercalatae in this passage seems to be always taken to signify 'deferred'; the punishment will be, as it were, paid over to the tribunes at the end of their year of office, but meanwhile they shall have a flogging by way of interest on it. This interpretation gives good sense, but it strains the meaning of *intercalatae* to what seems an unwarrantable pitch. The meaning 'insert' or 'add' can scarcely be absent from any figurative use of *intercalare*. It is thus much safer to take *intercalatae poenae* in the sense of 'added punishment'; *int. poen. usuram* then = 'interest consisting of added punishment.'

The simple alteration of *intercalatae* into *intercalatam*, however, would effect a great improvement, and should probably be made: 'intercalated interest on the punishment due to them.'

c. 18. 12: Paginas in annalibus magistratuum fastisque percurrere licet consulum dictatorumque, quorum. . . .

Annales magistratuum is generally taken to refer to the *libri lintei*, but is a strange name for them. Mommsen conjectures *annalibus fastisque magistratuum*, Luterbacher *annalibus magistratuumque fastis*. A simpler remedy would be to read *annalibus magistratuum fastis*, assuming that *que* was added by some one who wrongly took *annalibus* as a substantive. *Pagina* is by no means always used of books.

c. 19. 15: numquam ab equite hoste, numquam a pedite, numquam aperta acie, numquam aequis, utique numquam nostris locis laborauimus; equitem, sagittas, auia commeatibus loca grauis armis miles timere potest.

Madvig not unreasonably brackets the words *numquam ab equite hoste* as an interpolation, since they spoil the force of

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equitem in the next sentence. Livy's point, he argues, is, 'infantry have given us no serious trouble; it is possible that a heavily accoutred force may fear cavalry, arrows, etc.'; *saltus impeditos, auia commeatibus loca* are contrasted with *aperta acie, aequis, nostris locis;* it is, therefore, reasonable to conclude that *equitem* and the closely connected *sagittas* (for Livy is thinking of the Parthians) are meant as an antithesis to *pedite*, and that *numquam ab equite hoste* is an interpolation.

Madvig's argument has some force, but one cannot help feeling that if we could retain *numquam ab equite hoste* we should have a more effective rhetorical sentence, and the required contrast in the second sentence might be obtained by inserting before *equitem* the word *loricatum*, which might have dropped out after *laborauimus*. In xxxv. 48. 3 we find (*equites*) *loricatos, quos cataphractos uocant.* Thus we should have ordinary cavalry and infantry contrasted with the mail-clad mounted archers of the Parthians.

c. 38. 7: Itaque ad † obtinendum C. Marcium consulem concurrunt. . . .

The best Mss read *obtinendum* (*optinendum*), which is impossible; inferior Mss *opprimendum* or *obterendum*, the former of which is preferred by modern editors. But remembering the variation between *conterit* and *continet* in the codices of Martial, iv. 8. 1, we ought almost certainly to read *obterendum*, which has on its side both palaeographical probability and the fact that it is a *lectio difficilior*, or at any rate a less obvious word. For this meaning of *obtero* Luterbacher (who, however, reads *opprimendum* in his text) compares Curt. iii. 2. 10, ad obterendum hostem, and Tac. *Ann.* xv. 11, legionarios obtriuit.

c. 39. 4 init.: ** nam et cum Vmbrorum exercitu acie depugnatum est; fusi tamen magis quam caesi hostes, quia coeptam acriter non tolerarunt pugnam; et ad Vadimonis lacum Etrusci lege sacrata coacto exercitu, cum uir uirum legisset, quantis numquam alias ante simul copiis simul animis dimicarunt. . . .

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These words come in very abruptly after the earlier part of the chapter (§§ 1–3), which tells us that one Roman army under Papirius Cursor reached the neighborhood of Longula, and offered battle to the Samnites; the latter also drew up their army in fighting order, but while each side hesitated to begin the attack, night came on, and after that: quieti aliquamdiu, nec suis diffidentes uiribus nec hostem spernentes, statiua in propinquo habuere. Then the narrative takes a sudden leap to the Umbrians, and then another, almost equally sudden, to the Etruscans, and we hear no more of the Samnites till the next chapter.

The abrupt transition, introduced by the impossible *nam*, has naturally led scholars to assume a considerable lacuna after § 3. This supposition, however, does not remove the difficulty. The mention of a great slaughter of the Umbrians is out of place in this position, and is surely inconsistent with c. 41. 8, repentina defectio Vmbrorum, gentis integrae a cladibus belli. It is far more likely that the words *nam* . . . *pugnam* are misplaced, and were intended as an explanation, either by Livy or more probably by an annotator, of the words in § 11, ille primum dies . . . Etruscorum fregit opes; the reference in *cum Vmbrorum*, etc., will then be to the battle described in c. xli. 15–20, in which the Umbrians, with the aid of a very large contingent of Etruscans (§ 9), fought with Fabius and were very easily routed. The words *fusi tamen* . . . *pugnam* are fully borne out by the description of the battle in c. 41.

It seems very probable, then, that the words *nam* . . . *pugnam* should be added after *opes* in § 11. They probably ought to be bracketed, yet they may be by Livy. But ought we to be content to end the transposed part with *pugnam?* Does not the form of the sentence suggest that the explanation goes as far as *lacum?* In this case § 11 will begin thus: Ille primum dies fortuna uetere abundantes Etruscorum fregit opes; [nam et cum Vmbrorum exercitu acie depugnatum est (fusi tamen magis quam caesi hostes, quia coeptam acriter non tolerarunt pugnam), et ad Vadimonis lacum] (*i.e.* in the famous battle of 283 B.C., the so-called 'second battle

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of Lake Vadimo'). In this case there is no authority in Livy for placing the great battle of c. 39 at Lacus Vadimonis, and this need not surprise us, as no other authority — unless I am much mistaken — places it there. Thus the so-called 'first battle of Lake Vadimo' seems to be a myth, based on a textual corruption in Livy.

We have thus transposed the whole of § 4 and the first three words of § 5. If we suppose that the word *et* has dropped out before *Etrusci*, we make the next sentence read quite plausibly; *et* is often thus used by Livy at the beginning of a new sentence describing a new action. *Interea res in Etruria gestae*, which P has in the margin after *tolerarunt pugnam*, has, of course, no claim to be incorporated in the text.

The transition from the imminent battle between the Romans and the Samnites (§ 3) to that between the Romans and the Etruscans is somewhat abrupt, but not so abrupt as most persons seem to consider it, for the contest with the Samnites (apparently the first one described in the next chapter, § 7 ff.) was evidently delayed a considerable time, while each army remained in its *statiua* (c. 39. 3). Moreover, the abruptness has a certain effectiveness. It is possible, however, that Livy intended subsequently to work up this part of the chapter. We have already seen (in Part II of this paper) that he appears to have left some portions of Bk. ix 'in the rough,' hoping to revise them at leisure. It is not to be wondered at if after his exaggerated account of the exploits of Fabius against the Etruscans (cc. 35–37) he failed to see at once how he could fit into his narrative such an account of a great battle as implied that the Etruscan forces had been left practically unimpaired.

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VII — *The Linguistic and Ethnografic Status of the Burgundians*

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Most scholars still believe that the ancient letters known as runes were once the common possession of the whole Germanic race, and think of them as having gradually spred[1] northward thru the territory of the West-Germanic tribes. As a matter of fact, runic inscriptions are found in considerable numbers only in the territories of the Scandinavians and the English. It is, however, establisht that the Goths and the Frisians also used runes. The rest of the Germanic territory, that is, the West-Germanic territory lying south of the old continental homes of the English and the Frisians, has furnisht us but few rune-bearing objects, and the attempts that have been made to read West Germanic on them have been anything but successful.[2]

Long study of the subject had convinced me[3] that the runes are a variety of Western-Greek letters, which find their nearest kin in the East-Italic letters[4] and the letters used by the Veneti[5] at the hed of the Adriatic, and that they were brought to the extreme North in the middle of the first millennium before Christ in connection with the amber trade, which establisht direct relations between the hed of the Adriatic and the North Sea.[6] In erly times it was the west coast of Denmark (not the eastern shores of the Baltic) that

[1] Wherein the spelling employd in this paper is unusual, it is in accord with the recommendations of the Simplified Spelling Board; in a few cases only have I carrid the simplification farther.

[2] Cf. especially Henning: *Die deutschen Runendenkmäler*, and Wimmer: *Les Monuments Runiques de l'Allemagne.*

[3] *JGP.* II, 370 etc., IV, 70.

[4] Zvetaieff: *IIMD.*, plates I, II.

[5] Pauli: *Altitalische Forschungen*, III.

[6] Montelius: *Kulturgeschichte Schwedens*, 123; Müller: *Nordische Altertumskunde*, I, 322, *Urgeschichte Europas*, 127.

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furnisht the great supply of amber,[1] and it was the Veneti who had control of the amber trade in the South.[2] This trade brought to western Denmark[3] welth and a civilization known nowhere els in northern Europe.[4] From the Cimbrian peninsula this civilization spred in time to the Danish ilands and the Scandinavian peninsula, carrying with it that greatest element of civilization, the art of writing. Much later, when the Jutes and Angles migrated to Britain, they took their runes along with them; and their Scandinavian successors in Denmark brought theirs from Sweden. But there is nothing to show that the general use of runic writing extended south of the territory of the Frisians and the old seats of the Angles. Indeed, as was long ago pointed out by Stephens and Taylor, we even lack evidence that the runes were employd by the Saxons who joind the Angles and the Jutes in the settlement of Britain; for the English rune-bearers come almost exclusivly from the territory originally settled by Angles and Jutes. The pronounced failure to read West Germanic on the few rune-bearers found in Germany certainly fits in perfectly with this.

Nevertheless it would not do to ignore these continental inscriptions, or to try to dispose of the problem by simply denominating the objects all "wanderers," as Stephens did, meaning objects made and engraved in the North, but carrid to the South. And so I felt it incumbent upon me to try to explain them. They fall into two classes. To the first belong a spearhed, a gold ring, a die, and several gold bracteates,[5] found in northern Germany at different points not far from the Baltic. As I shall show in forthcoming papers, all these are Scandinavian in workmanship and speech. That is, they really are wanderers, which have made their way across the border into the adjacent territory.

[1] Olshausen: *Z. f. Ethnol.* XXII, 287; Montelius: *Kulturgeschichte Schwedens*, 123; Müller: *Nordische Altertumskunde*, I, 326.

[2] Pliny, xxxvii, 3 (43). [3] Müller: *NA.* I, 322–323.

[4] Müller: *NA.* I, 316, 321 below, 322, etc.

[5] These are ornaments resembling gold coins and having a small loop by which they were suspended about the necks of children. At an other time I intend to prove that the bracteate is a northern form of the southern bulla.

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As such they may be dismist from present consideration. The remaining objects, which concern us, consist of a dozen fibulas, or brooches, found at various places in western Hungary, southern Germany, and eastern France. Between them and the few Scandinavian intruders in the extreme North lies nearly the whole of Germany with not a single runic find.

Considering the fact that Gothic rune-bearers have been found along the southward march of the Goths, far from their original seats, it occurd to me that the other southern runic inscriptions might belong not to the original West-Germanic occupants of southern Germany, but to one of the northern tribes that came down among them at the time of the great migrations. This supposition was strengthend by the fact that the fibulas in question show a remarkable resemblance in form and ornament, reflecting northern traditions, while the runes employd have certain peculiarities in common, betraying Anglo-Frisian affinities, for example, the old Greek doubly belted ᚺ. In order to test the hypothesis, I mapt out the places where the finds were made. Drawing a line thru these, I observd that it coincided with the route taken by the Burgundians in their successiv migrations from near the Baltic into France, grafically shown by Erckert.[1]

We first come upon the Burgundians settled, roughly speaking, in what is now Posen and eastern Brandenburg, with the Goths and the Vandals to the east and the south of them. By the third century of our era, the Burgundians had migrated to the middle Danube, the country around Vienna. Toward the end of the century they ascended the stream and settled in the territory northwest of a line drawn thru Augsburg and Regensburg, that is, Upper Franconia. At the opening of the fifth century they past down the Main and establisht the famous but short-lived kingdom that had Worms as its capital, coinciding with Rhenish Franconia. After the destruction of Worms by the Huns in 437, some of the Burgundians remaind, and were gradually absorbd by their

[1] *Wanderungen und Siedelungen der germanischen Stämme*, plate VII.

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West-Germanic neighbors; but portions of the tribe past west and south into France, where they gradually gave up their Germanic speech, and, as the nucleus of successiv Burgundian relms, playd an important part in the history of Europe.[1]

The objects upon which the runes are inscribed were found in what are known as *Reihengräber*, in the following localities: (1) Bezenye, near Pressburg, east of Vienna; (2) Nordendorf, north of Augsburg; an ancient cemetery northeast of Gmünd; Balingen, near Hohenzollern; (3) Osthofen, north of Worms; Freilaubersheim, between Osthofen and Kreuznach; Friedberg, north of Frankfort; Ems, east of Coblenz; Engers, north of Coblenz; and (4) Charnay, in Burgundy.

The fibula found in Burgundy has generally been supposed to be of Burgundian origin, but has defied interpretation. Considering the geografical position of the other finds and the various evidences they betray of common origin, I came to the conclusion that the inscriptions were probably all Burgundian, and were deposited in the graves, in which they were later discoverd, when the Burgundians dwelt in these four localities.[2] The theory appeard to me and the scholars to whom I confided it to deserv consideration, and I resolvd, as soon as I should have time to do so, to go at the study of the language of the inscriptions, unbiast as to its character, simply permitting it to unfold itself. That was some six years ago, but it was not until last spring that I found leisure to take the matter up again. It then turnd out that the evidence corroborated the theory. While the inscriptions could not be successfully red as West Germanic, that idea once abandond, it was comparativly easy to decifer those that were

[1] These various settlements are clearly shown on Erckert's plates V, VIII, IX, X.

[2] This fits exactly and makes more specific the results of Salin's recent study of the fibulas from the point of view of form and ornament. For he decides that they betray northern influence, and comes to the conclusion that the same movement that introduced northern craftsmanship into southern Germany also introduced the runes into these parts. Here Salin has reference, however, to the first introduction of letters. Bernhard Salin: *Die altgermanische Tierornamentik*, 1904.

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not severely mutilated. The trouble had been, not with the inscriptions, but with the interpreters, who did not permit them to speak for themselvs and reveal their identity, but, having decided *a priori* that (with the exception of the Charnay fibula) they must be written in some West-Germanic dialect, tried to force them into that mold. The form *Bōso* on the Freilaubersheim fibula appeard to justify this course. It was so distinctly West Germanic, that it seemd it could be nothing els, tho the prominence of the name Boso in the history of Burgundy should not have been overlookt. From the start, the form was allowd to play too important a part in the thoughts of scholars, and a def ear was turnd to the clear and unmistakably Northern speech of the larger Nordendorf fibula. The language in which the inscriptions are written is perfectly consistent with itself. And it is Germanic. But not any one of the Germanic languages thus far known. For Burgundian has hitherto been practically an unknown tung. Such notions[1] as we have had of it were vague and very uncertain, being based only on what could be inferd from Burgundian proper names, which have come down to us in doutful and misleading spelling, always open to the suspicion of Latin, Gothic, or German influence.[2] But now we have a number of brief inscriptions giving real sentences. From these it is possible to get such a picture of Burgundian speech as enables one to understand clearly its relation to other Germanic languages. The first announcement of the results of this study was made in the New-York *Nation* of April 23, 1908. In the present paper I submit to Germanic scholars the interpretation of two inscriptions which are of prime importance in determining the linguistic and hence the ethnografic status of the Burgundians; namely, the one on the smaller Nordendorf fibula and the one on the Balingen fibula. I could accomplish the same purpose by means of the two Nordendorf fibulas, but

[1] Wackernagel: "Sprache und Sprachdenkmäler der Burgunden," in *Kleinere Schriften*, III, 334 etc., also in Binding's *Geschichte des burgundisch-romanischen Königreichs*, 329 etc. Kögel: *ZfdA*. xxxvii, 223 etc.

[2] Bremer, Paul's *Grundriss* III, 822.

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choose the Balingen fibula for the reason that I shall give later.[1]

The Smaller Nordendorf Fibula

For details as to this Nordendorf fibula it will be best to refer the reader to Henning.[2] On page 107 he says: —

"Ihrem Schriftcharacter nach unterscheiden sich die Runen von denen der meisten übrigen Inschriften dadurch, dass sie feiner und oberflächlicher eingeritzt sind, als wie es sonst der Fall zu sein pflegt. Doch deuten die sicheren Strichzüge keineswegs auf eine ungeübte Hand. Ausserdem wird die Leserlichkeit des Anfanges etwas durch die vielen Schrammen behindert, welche die Runen durchziehen. . . . So ist das Bild, welches die Inschrift auf den ersten Blick erweckt, etwas verwirrend, aber eine wirkliche Unsicherheit bleibt nirgend bestehen. Die Runen lassen sich einzig und allein als

ᛒᛁᚱᚴᚨᚺᛁᛟᛗᚨᛉ

entziffern, wie auch die früheren Herausgeber übereinstimmend angenommen haben."

There are several considerations that make us hesitate to acknowledge this supposed certainty. In the first place, tho Henning and his predecessors agreed as to the form of these letters, they were unable to agree as to what the supposed final letter might be, and no one of them was able so to interpret the legend as a whole as to satisfy anyone els. In the second place, later scholars, for example Bugge, have not always agreed with the erlier judgment. In the third place, anyone who will carefully examin for himself Henning's lithografic reproduction (plate III, fig. 8) will see that it does not enable one so redily to distinguish the true strokes (which

[1] The larger Nordendorf inscription and the other Burgundian inscriptions I shall publish shortly in various filological journals. As all these first publications are preliminary to the final edition, which I expect to publish, with fotografic facsimiles, under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution, I shall be thankful for criticisms from other scholars and particularly for copies of such reviews as may appear of the preliminary publications.

[2] Page 106, etc., and plate III, figure 8.

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he correctly calls fine and slight) from the various accidental scratches that cross them. The fourth rune, for example, might be ᚿ or ᚹ or ᚱ or ᛒ or ᚠ. At first sight it looks most like an ᚿ, and this it has generally been taken to be, tho we thus get the unmanageable glut of liquids *rln*. On closer examination it appears to be a ᛒ with the shaft abnormally extended downwards. Still more careful scrutiny, however, reveals the fact that the two parallel lines slanting upward from the shaft are not made perfectly straight, nor with that practist deftness which, as Henning points out, characterizes most of the strokes. On the other hand, both parallel lines that slant down from the shaft are straight and clear, tho the lower one is fainter than the upper one. The latter extends a bit too far over the shaft and the former appears to do the same — a fenomenon common to this and most Burgundian inscriptions. I therefore read the rune as ᚨ *a*; compare the two *a*'s on the Balingen fibula (1 and 9, page 115 below). The last letter of our inscription, whether explained as an *n*,[1] a *k*,[2] an *ŋg*,[3] or an *s*,[4] is equally hopeless. The character must be defectiv. It is obvious (see Henning's plate) that nothing is wanting below. It is equally clear that the upper part of the letter has sufferd some mutilation. Two possibilities suggest themselvs: the letter might originally have been ᚹ *w* or ᚠ *f*. That it was the latter is made probable by the fact that the oblique stroke reaches clear up to the line of the tops of the runes. This is not a case in which the engraver permitted his burin to run on until it left the plate with a faint finish somewhere beyond where it should have stopt. For the stroke is deeply cut thruout and ends abruptly on a line with the tops of the other letters. That is, we have to deal with ᚠ, not with a ᚴ. Moreover, there is, even on Henning's lithografic reproduction, a faint trace of the upper oblique line of an ᚠ, beginning above the angle and running nearly parallel with the distinct lower oblique line.[5]

[1] Wimmer: *Die Runenschrift*, 107. [2] Henning and Bugge.
[3] Wimmer: *Les Monuments Runiques*, 297. [4] Stephens.
[5] It is interesting to observ that exactly the same development took place in

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The legend is, then: —

biranio elf

This *biran(n)io* is the first person singular of the *jan*-factitiv of the compound verb * *bi-riana* = Gothic *bi-rinnan*,[1] cf. Gothic *urrannjan* < *ur-rinnan*. In this the *bi-riana*, *bi-* has the force of 'by,' 'past,' 'vorbei,' 'vorüber,' (Wilmanns: *Deutsche Grammatik*, II, § 103 *b*); hence the primary compound verb means 'to run by,' 'to run away,' and the factitiv derivativ *birannia* means 'to cause to run away,' 'to drive off,' 'vertreiben.'[2]

The second word, *elf*, is the accusativ singular of the word that appears in Old English as *ælf*, in Old Norse as *ālf-r*, and in High German as *alp*, with the meanings 'elf,' 'spook,' 'nightmare.'

the gradual recognition of the *f*-rune on the Charnay fibula. Baudot gave it as ᚴ on both his reproductions, and this was copid by Dietrich and Stephens. When later Beauvois (together with Baudot) carefully examind the fibula for Wimmer, he reported it as ᚴ, which Wimmer then adopted. Henning (page 54) adds: "Auf dem Original ist der obere Seitenstrich indess nicht annähernd so deutlich wie auf der Abbildung von W[immer], im Gegentheil kostet es eine gewisse Anstrengung, um ihn überhaupt zu erfassen und von den in unmittelbarer Nähe befindlichen Zufälligkeiten, vor Allem einer mit demselben sich ganz nahe berührenden Schrunde zu unterscheiden. Trotzdem glaube auch ich die, man muss fast schon sagen, einstige Existenz des oberen Seitenstriches vertreten zu dürfen, wenn auch der ganze Lauf desselben nur bei besonders günstigem Lichte in einem zusammenhängenden Schimmer erkennbar wird." All of which might be repeated verbatim of our *f*. In the cut above, the disputed lines in both *f* and *a* are far too thick and distinct.

[1] In Burgundian, *inn* becomes *ian* (that is, *iɔn*, with *ɔ* probably nasalized): *hianr* and *liano* (Charnay) = ON. *hvinnr* and *linne*. Compare the West-Germanic change *iww* > *iuw*.

[2] Cf. the Gothic verbs *bi-þragjan*, *bi-sniwan*, *bi-leiþan*, *bi-wandjan*, cited by Wilmanns. The recorded instances of Gothic *bi-rinnan* show the two other meanings of *bi-*. Thus (1) in *bi-rinnan* 'umdrängen,' 'umgeben,' we have *bi-* '(her)um' (Wilmanns, II, § 103, 1), and (2) in *bi-rinnan* 'durchlaufen,' the *bi-* reflects the notion of the traversing of a region, or the covering of a surface (Wilmanns, II, § 103, 2). Similarly with OHG. *bi-rinnan*, MHG. *be-rinnen*, and OE. *bi-rinnan*.

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The translated legend, then, reads: —

Biran(n)io elf
'Ich vertreibe den Alp'
'I drive away the nightmare'

In other words, the pin was a charm. Pieces of jewelry frequently servd as talismans. Nearly all the golden bracteates are charms to bring good luck or to ward off evil, and bracteate 59 is a charm against the nightmare.[1] As I shall show in an other paper this afternoon, the Fonnås fibula, like some of the bracteates, is a charm against a whole series of evils.

Our present fibula is of importance for two reasons. In the first place, it shows us that Burgundian shares with Anglo-Frisian the peculiar tendency to front *a* to *æ* or *e*. The Burgundian inscriptions furnish numerous evidences of the close relation of Burgundian to Anglo-Frisian, but the change of *a* to *e* is the clearest and most conclusiv, hence the most important. But the fibula also throws new light on the history of the German language. It contains a word in a use peculiar to Midland German. I refer to the word *alp* in the sense of 'alpdrücken,' which enterd the written language from the Midland dialects (Franconian, Hessian, Thuringian, Saxon).[2] Some time I shall show that other linguistic fenomena peculiar to Midland German are traceable to Burgundian origin. In other words, the Burgundians that merged with their West-Germanic neighbors did not do so without leaving some impress upon the resultant speech (Rhenish and Upper Franconian), which later spred northeast when the Germans crowded upon the Slavs.

The Balingen Fibula

It is fortunate that we have not only Burgundian inscriptions but also a nearly complete Burgundian alfabet and

[1] It contains the two words *lūr-wā* 'slumber-wo' and *dot-maRa* 'sleep-mare.' Some of the Norse charms contain a verb like 'I overcome' or 'I destroy' before the word for the evil or evils; but most of them simply name what is to be counteracted.

[2] Cf. Kluge under *alp*; also Paul's *Grundriss*, III, 268, 286.

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that it is found on a piece whose Burgundian extraction no one can deny, namely, on the Charnay fibula.[1] No other Burgundian piece furnishes as good illustrations of these runes as does the Balingen fibula, with its fifteen runes, only two of which are repeated. Besides the doubly belted *h*, which we now have on several Burgundian pieces, we find here also the primitiv ᛯ *z*, *ʀ*, from[2] Greek ⌶ *z* (*JGP.* II, 373). The four-stroke ᛊ *s* we have twice on one of the Bezenye fibulas. There is nothing about the fibula or the other finds made at Balingen[3] or the graves themselvs that should lead us to keep them separate from the other Burgundian remains. Their being found at Balingen simply proves that the Burgundian settlements belonging to what I have above designated as the second group extended a little farther down the west side of the Rauhe Alp than has been supposed.[4] I have selected this fibula to-day for two reasons. In the first place, it furnishes two of the most striking illustrations of the kinship of Burgundian to another branch of Germanic speech. In the second place, it is an excellent example of the class of inscriptions that I shall deal with in my second paper.[5]

[1] Wimmer: *Die Runenschrift*, 79 and plate III; Henning: *Die deutschen Runendenkmäler*, 47 and plate II; Bugge: *Norges Indskrifter med de ældre Runer*, 9.

[2] That is, the horizontal lines are broken, as lines cut with the grain of the bark or wood are inclined to close up and so are not easily made out. Thus runic ᛏ *t* is from Greek ⊤ *t*, and in the same way the Burgundian ᚹ *p* is from an inverted Greek ⊓ *p*, like East-Italic ⊔ *p* (Zvetaieff: *IIMD.* plate I, I, II, I).

[3] Ludwig Mayer: *Katalog der K. Staatssammlung vaterländischer Kunst- und Alterthumsdenkmale*, I. Abtheilung, *Die Reihengräberfunde*, 1883, pp. xvi, 118.

[4] See Erckert, plate VIII.

[5] As the paper referd to is to be publisht elswhere, I should here explain that in it I showd that most of the runic inscriptions that have hitherto baffled Germanic scholars are written in that sort of partially syllabic writing that we find in Venetic, Sanskrit, and some other ancient scripts. That is, the vowel *a* is not written after a consonant, being a part of the fonetic name of that letter. A few texts show a virama, but in the great majority it is not employed. On the Fonnas fibula it appears as a little wiggle. This has hitherto generally been supposed to be an *s*, but in reality corresponds to the little upright stroke often found in Venetic. On the Konghell club the virama has a form not very different from that of the one employd in Sanskrit.

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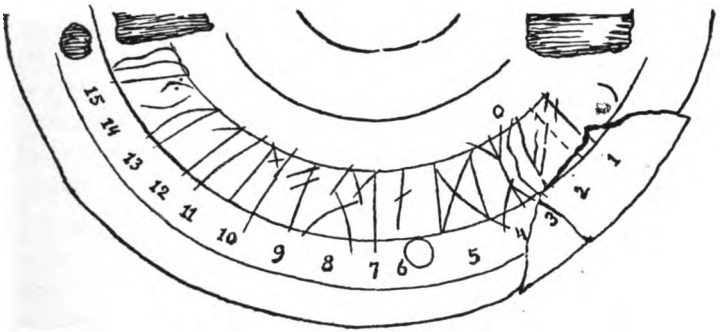
I know no publisht reproduction[1] of the runic side of the Balingen fibula which does justis to the legend. But a careful scrutiny of a good fotograf[2] with the aid of a magnifying glass reveals the whole. It runs from right to left as follows:[3] —



[1] Naue-Söderberg, *Prähistorische Blätter*, II, No. 3. Stephens, *Old Northern Runic Monuments*, IV, 64. Grienberger, *ZfdP.* XL, 257.

[2] Grienberger secured several of these, and he had the courtesy to send me one unsolicited.

[3] In this reproduction I have indicated nothing that I have not myself made out in the fotograf. But in reproducing in this way, I find it impossible to show the lines as faint or as straight and clear cut as they should be, and consequently several appear here much more distinct than in the original. The jog in one shaft of (10) and the wavers in (2) are in the original. The cut will serv to give the reader a good idea of the letters and their form; it will also aid anyone who has a fotograf to trace the various obscure lines for himself.

Because of the extreme care with which Grienberger studied the original as well as several fotografs, and the pains he took to record his observations, it will be necessary for me to explain how my results differ from his. Stephens also studied the legend very conscientiously, and in the case of (2) was more nearly successful than Grienberger. I agree with the latter as to all the letters except 2, 3, 11, 14, 15. Grienberger saw (3) and described it perfectly, but he did not recognize what it was. Stephens's reproduction of this letter is inexact in not showing the medial obtuse angle. Of (2) Grienberger saw the second shaft and the lower part of the upper oblique line, and he refers to the space occupied by the rest of the letter, but says he could make out nothing there. Stephens saw practically the whole of the letter and reproduced it pretty well, but he misconstrued it. As to (11) I leave it to the reader to determin whether we have to deal with an *i*, as most scholars believe, or whether it was intended to be a part of an *u* made into a ligature with the preceding *m*, as Grienberger thinks. Compare the *u* of the next syllable for the scribe's way of making that letter. Of (14) and (15) Grienberger recognizes only the upper angle of *ng*. This is abnormally deeply cut and consequently stands out in decided contrast to the neighboring

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Reversing the direction of the writing and supplying the understood *a* (here printed in Roman type), we get: —

āh sar *ðā nālō amiluŋgr*

which in Old Norse would be: —

ā s(ē)r ðā nǭl amilungr
'Amilung owns this pin.'

The construction *āh sar*[1] or *ā s(ē)r* is peculiar to Norse and Burgundian. So, too, is the loss of *ð* in *nālō* (ON. *nǭl*, Gothic *nēþla*, OE. *nǣðl*, Eng. *needle*, Ger. *nadel*), Noreen, § 228.

This one brief legend, then, furnishes us with two striking proofs, one syntactical and the other fonological, of the close kinship of Burgundian and Norse. The other Burgundian inscriptions, particularly the one on the larger Nordendorf fibula, furnish numerous others.

strokes, which have been much worn because they stand where the tung of the pin could play. Of (15) Grienberger saw the erect shaft, but supposed it to be a part of the broad groove in the metal above, tho it is very different from that, having a narrow channel sharply and clearly cut. The legend runs between the arcs of two of the five nearly concentric circles with which the engraver ornamented the back of the pin. These arcs are joind at the ends of the inscription by a sort of {, intact at the left, only partially visible at the right. Söderberg saw the one at the left and the shaft of the *r* (but not the intervening slightly curvd back of the *r*) and took them for an *e*. I should add as to (1) that while Grienberger agrees with his predecessors in recognizing an *a*, he does not see the dark staff that Stephens saw and I see, but takes a series of light spots farther to the right to be the staff. The oblique lines do not simply run up to the staff but cross it as in (9).

In Venetic (Pauli: *Altitalische Forschungen*, III.) the virama consists of one or, more often, two dots or vertical strokes, on one or both sides of the consonant that is followd by no vowel. If employd in this inscription, we should expect it at (2), (4), and (14); similar dots do appear in the case of (14), but I can not be sure in the case of (2) and (4), and as there are dots at other places I must leave the question open.

[1] One might ask whether we should not rather read *āh-sR*, with lost vowel in the enclitic pronoun, as in Old Norse *-sr* for *sǣr*. This is possible, provided we assume that the weak *a* (= *ə*) had but recently dropt out, and the *R* had not yet had time to change to *r*. For final *R*, which did not become *r* until 900 in Primitiv Norse, and then only after dentals (Wimmer, *Die Runenschrift*, 297), appears to have erly become *r* in Burgundian after consonants generally, cf. *Amiluŋgr* as well as *hianr* (Charnay) = ON. *hvinnr*.

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Our study of these two inscriptions has establisht Burgundian as the link between Norse and Anglo-Frisian. While, as has been said, the remaining inscriptions prove the same in other ways, this can be shown to better advantage in connection with the interpretation of the various inscriptions. I can not, however, refrain from calling attention to a piece of evidence that is drawn in part from the Balingen fibula. In *āh* from older *aih*, we have a change of *ai* to *ā* before *h* which is common to Norse, Burgundian, and English. But while English permits the gradual absorption of the second element of the diphthong (*ai* > *ae* > *aə* > *ā*) not only before *h* but everywhere, for example, in cases like *wrait* > *wrāt*, Burgundian here shows only the first stage of the change,[1] namely, *wrait* > *wraet* (Freilaubersheim fibula), while Norse permitted an entirely different development of the diphthong in such cases, whereby the second element, insted of being subordinated, itself exerted an influence over the first element and mutated it, thus PN. *w(a)rait* (Istaby) > ON. *reit*. That is, Burgundian again occupies an intermediate position.[2]

Old English	Burgundian	Old Norse
ā	*ā*	*ā*
ā	*ae*	*ei*

We know that the Burgundians were regarded as closely akin to the Vandals and the Goths. We have therefore clast them all as East Germanic, tho we have known the language of the Goths only. It is now clear that this grouping must be abandond. Burgundian does show resemblance to Gothic, for example, in the inflection of the verb, as seen on the Charnay fibula and other pieces; but this resemblance is due to the fact that both are very old, and I shall show at an other time that these peculiarities are shared also by Primitiv Norse. But the resemblance of Burgundian to Norse

[1] The preservation of *ai* in the verbal suffix (Charnay) is involvd with the matter of the character of the accent.

[2] Old Frisian (with *ā* in *āch* = B. *āh*, and *ē* in words like B. *wraet*) occupies still a different position; but as we do not yet understand the fortunes of G^c^. *ai* in Old Frisian, consideration of this fase of the matter is better postponed.

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on the one hand and to Anglo-Frisian on the other is so pronounced and so far reaching that it leaves us no alternativ. We must recast our classification of Germanic dialects. Until we get further light, it must be in some such form as this: —

Norse
Burgundian Gothic
Anglo-Frisian
German

These facts are best understood if we suppose that the Burgundians, who are reputed to have come to Germany from the iland of Bornholm, lying between Sweden and Germany, at one time lived still nearer the Anglo-Frisians, for example, on one or more of the other Danish ilands, or in Jutland itself. This conclusion, to which I came last spring, is renderd practically a certainty by an observation that I have since made, namely, that the amulet dug up at Maglekilde on Sealand[1] contains a Burgundian inscription written syllabically in primitiv runes.[2]

Permit me to add a word or two as to chronology. Taking as a basis of judgment the character of the other objects found in the graves, it has been customary to date the finds too late. For example, those made at Nordendorf, north of Augsburg, are clast as Merovingian, and so put down as of the sixth to the eighth century, and this in the face of the fact that the latest coins unertht are those of Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian, who died in 375, 378, 383 respectivly. While it is true that we must be cautious in using coins as the basis of a latest date, there is here no reason to ignore a remarkable agreement between archeological and historical evidence. That no Roman coins of later date are found is explaind by the fact that the Burgundians, under the leadership of King

[1] Stephens: *ONRM.* I, 864, *Handbook*, 107.

[2] This I shall show in detail on an other occasion. I may, however, remark in passing that in 1902 (*JGP.* IV, 72) I explaind the rune ᛦ *h*, *h*, as a simplification of ⌽, a common erly form of Φ, reflected also in the Gothic letter ⊙ *h*. Since that time I have found the primitiv runic forms ⌽ and ⌽ not only on the Maglekilde amulet but also on several other pieces.

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Gundikar, left this district a few years later, namely, about 410. It is therefore clear that there is an error of some magnitude in the dating of archeological finds of the character involvd, which will be corrected now that we know that those made at Nordendorf can not be later than the very beginning of the fifth century. It is not improbable that the Burgundians were the very agents that introduced into western Europe some of those elements that we later recognize under the name of Merovingian. The Burgundian inscriptions also throw light on other matters, for examplè, on Germanic mythology. But it will be best to consider these questions in connection with the inscriptions involvd.

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VIII — *On τὸ δέ = 'Whereas'*

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In his edition of Plato's *Theaetetus* (Berlin, 1805), Heindorf has the following note on 157 B, τὸ δ' οὐ δεῖ: "τὸ δ' οὐ δεῖ — *quum tamen non oporteat*, etc. Sexcenties ita hoc τὸ δέ usurpatur, ut contrariam praegressis sententiam indicet, vertique possit *quum tamen.* Cf. § 99. 151. Apolog. p. 23. a. . . . de rep. I. p. 340. c. . . . de legg. VII. p. 803. c. . . . Sophist. p. 244. a. . . . Lucian. Hermotim. § 69. T. IV. p. 93 . . . Sed abunde ubivis est exemplorum, quorum aliqua studiosorum causa attuli, quoniam nondum, quod sciam, a doctis de hoc genere explicatum est." The foregoing note is not particularly luminous, yet, by its boldness and startling nature, it seems to have made a profound impression upon succeeding commentators and grammarians, so much so that, in one form or another, it has been echoed and reëchoed to the present day.

For example, Ast, *Platonis Politia*, Lipsiae, 1814, p. 363, has the following note on 340 D: "τὸ δ' est i. q. τὸ δὲ ἀληθές s. τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ, re ipsa vero (*in Wahrheit, eigentlich aber*). Sic Timaeus p. 86. D: τὸ δ' ἀληθές, ἡ περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια ἀκολασία — νόσος ψυχῆς γέγονε. Polit. IV, 17. p. 443. C. . . . *Lucian.* Piscat. § 6. . . . Sic et *Diodor. Sicul.* XVI, 91. *Dio Chrysostom.* Orat. I. de regno, p. 14. A. al. Contra τὸ δέ legitur Polit. VII, 527. A. Cratyl. 404. C. 405. E. 439. C. Gorg. 158. B. Theaet. 166. A. 157. B (ubi *Heindorfius*, p. 333. plura laudavit, τὸ δέ vero non satis recte explicat *quum tamen*)." A similar note is found in Ast's commentary on the *Protag.* (1829) at 344 E.

Stallbaum[4] makes the following remarks apropos of *Apol.* 23 A: "τὸ δὲ κινδυνεύει — σοφὸς εἶναι] h. e. *quum tamen revera deus videatur sapiens esse.* De republ. I. p. 340. C. . . . Menon. p. 97. D. . . . Theaetet. p. 157. A. . . ., ubi *Heindorf.* de hoc genere loquendi monuit. Legg. I. p. 642. A.

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VII. p. 803. D. al. Pro τὸ δὲ interdum plenius dicitur τὸ δὲ ἀληθές. De republ. IV. p. 443. D. . . . Tim. p. 86. D. . . . Ex quibus locis intelligitur, quae sit propria vis et significatio illius formulae. Etenim articulus cum δέ coniunctus indicat id, quod alii cuidam ita opponitur, ut pro vero haberi debeat. Hoc loco post τὸ δὲ infertur τῷ ὄντι, quo vis illius formulae τὸ δὲ augeatur magisque sentiatur. Sic Legg. V. p. 731. E: τὸ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ γε."

Bernhardy expressed his views on τὸ δέ in *Wiss. Syntax d. gr. Sprache* (Berlin, 1829), p. 327, as follows: "Ganz anderer Art sind adjektive Einschiebsel der epexegetischen Struktur (K. 3. 27), welche eine Modifikation des Hauptgedankens bezwecken und einen Vorzug der Platonischen Rede und der nachahmenden Sophisten bilden, τὸ λεγόμενον . . ., τὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ . . ., τὸ μέγιστον wie ähnliches fast adverbial, wozu aus Späten mancherlei kommt . . ., weniges aus den Rednern, welche hier wie beim Relativum (§ 14) eine Verknüpfung mit ὅτι (oft bei Lucian) und zuweilen mit γάρ anreihen, doch meistentheils Isocrates, selten aber ist die Beziehung auf den nächsten Satz ohne eine Partikel . . ., *woraus* τὸ δέ (Anm. 77) *als eine Partikel zur Satzverbindung hervorging.*"[1] Anm. 77 reads thus: "Von τὸ δέ hat Ast richtigeres aufgestellt als seine Vorgänger."

Matthiae, *Ausführl. gr. Gram.*,[3] II. Theil, Syntax, p. 738, § 286, Anm., has this to say: "Plato gebraucht τὸ δέ sehr oft zu Anfang eines dem vorhergehenden entgegengesetzten Satzes mit eigenem Subject, ohne dass es mit dem Satze selbst in der Construction zusammenhängt. Apol. S. p. 23. A. οἴονται . . . σοφὸς εἶναι. *Dagegen scheint* oder *anstatt dass Gott weise ist.* Der Artikel scheint hier das folgende vorbereiten und den Gegensatz mehr herausheben zu sollen." To this is appended the footnote: "Heind. ad Plat. Theaet. § 37. p. 333. Stallbaum ad Plat. apol. S. p. 32."

Krüger,[5] § 50, 1, A. 14, follows suit with the note: "*Adverbartig* steht τὸ δέ namentlich bei Platon eine dem Vorigen entgegengesetzte Behauptung einführend: *da doch* (*in Wahrheit*). Οἴονταί με σοφὸν εἶναι· τὸ δὲ κινδυνεύει τῷ ὄντι ὁ θεὸς

[1] The italics are mine. — C. W. E. M.

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σοφὸς εἶναι. Πλ. ἀπ. 23, a. Heindorf z. Theait. 37 u. die Erkl. z. Apol. 23, a."

Kühner[2] (so also Kühner-Gerth) § 459, 1, c), though correctly explaining a few examples of τὸ δέ that are explained as adverbial by others, subsequently falls in line with the remark: "Τὸ δέ oft in d. Bdtg. *hingegen, jedoch.* Pl. ap. 23, a οἴονται γάρ με . . ., es scheint jedoch, '*articulus cum δέ conjunctus indicat id, quod alii cuidam ita opponitur, ut pro vero haberi debeat*' *Stallb.*, der viele Beisp. anführt."

Madvig, *Syntax der gr. Spr.*[2] (1884), § 188, Anm. 7, uses this language about τὸ δέ: "Besonders ist zu merken der Gebrauch von τὸ δέ (der Artikel als Pronomen) zur Anknüpfung eines Satzes, der im Gegensatze zu dem erst angeführten weniger Richtigen das Wahre an einer Sache angiebt (aber in der Wirklichkeit): οἴονταί με . . . (Πλ. Ἀπολ. 23). Der Ausdruck ist durch die Auslassung eines bloss durch τό angedeuteten Satzes entstanden (τὸ δὲ ὧδε ἔχει· κινδυνεύει κ.τ.λ. Πλ. Θεαιτ. 166)."

The late Mr. Adam, in his edition of the *Apology* (1887) at 23 A, expresses himself as follows: "τὸ δέ . . . τῷ ὄντι = 'whereas in very truth.' In Plato τὸ δέ often means 'but in point of fact.' Cf. infr. 39 C and Rep. 1. 340 D. In this phrase τό is demonstrative: in point of syntax it is the acc. in apposition to the sentence. Here it is strengthened by τῷ ὄντι as it is elsewhere by ἀληθείᾳ γε (Legg. v. 731 E)." In his more recent edition of the *Republic* (1902) is found the following note on 443 C: "τὸ δέ γε: 'yes, but in point of fact.' For τὸ δέ in this sense cf. 1 340 D *n.* τὸ δέ γε ἀληθές below expresses the same meaning more fully and emphatically."

The following is a portion of Thompson's note on *Meno*, 97 C: "τὸ δέ, 'whereas.' 'Primus monuit Heindorfius ad Theaet. (157 B) de formula τὸ δέ conjunctionis loco inservienti latineque vertenda *cum tamen.*' Buttm. *Apol.* 23 A . . . and J. Adam's note; . . . The idiom is very common in Plato. τό is accusative (or rather the primitive case, which became the accusative when the nominative was differentiated from it), and the meaning is 'in regard to this.' It has no definite construction, and does not refer to any particular word in the

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context. . . . Some of the instances in Plato are ambiguous."

Forman's note on *Apol.* 23 A (London, 1900) is interesting, because, whilst accepting the current translation of τὸ δέ, 'whereas,' it gives a different explanation of the construction. It reads as follows: "τὸ δέ 'but on the other hand' (='whereas'); an adverbial acc. much used by Plato to introduce a statement *counter* (δέ) to the preceding—as if responding to some omitted τὸ μέν. Cf. the adverbial τοῦτο μὲν . . . τοῦτο δέ." A similar note is contained in the Appendix: "τὸ δέ 'on the other hand,' 'whereas': Rid. *Dig.* § 19. (Krüg. 50, 1, 14 says nothing worth saying, and G.-Kühn. nothing at all.) Frequent in Plato; e.g. . . ."

Remarks of a similar nature to those already presented may be found in the commentaries or grammars of Aken, Archer-Hind, Arnold, Bäumlein, Blass, Buttmann, Campbell, Classen, Dissen, Flagg, Goodwin, Hug, Jelf, Jowett-Campbell, Rettig, Riddell, Schanz, Schneider, and others, but the above citations will suffice to show how profoundly Heindorf influenced the thought of succeeding scholars in reference to the use of τὸ δέ, and they will also serve to indicate the leading divergencies of view regarding the explanation of the phenomenon in question. For, as a matter of fact, whilst after the lapse of a hundred years present-day commentaries still show traces of Heindorf's influence, yet, almost from the very day on which he wrote his note on the passage in the *Theaetetus*, there has been much diversity of opinion as to the real nature of the idiom. Ast found fault with Heindorf's explanation; Stallbaum sought to merge both views; Bernhardy, though not exactly in accord with Ast, thinks Ast's explanation better than that of his predecessors; Krüger speaks of an "adverbial" use of τὸ δέ, whilst Buttmann before him called it "conjunctional"; Madvig explains the construction by the ellipsis of a sentence that is indicated by τό; Adam considers τό an accusative pronoun in apposition to the sentence that follows; Thompson, though also regarding τό as an accusative, assigns to it the meaning 'in regard to this'; and Forman thinks of τὸ δέ as 'on the other hand,' in contrast to an implied τὸ μέν. In view of this diversity of

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opinion and in view of the fact that most of the examples adduced in favor of the construction in question seemed clearly to admit of a different interpretation, the writer of this paper thought it desirable to examine anew the alleged instances of adverbial *τὸ δέ*, and he desires, in the following pages, to present the results of this examination.

In Thuc. i, 37, 2, *φασὶ δὲ ξυμμαχίαν διὰ τὸ σῶφρον οὐδενός πω δέξασθαι· τὸ δ' ἐπὶ κακουργίᾳ καὶ οὐκ ἀρετῇ ἐπετήδευσαν*, the obvious reference of *τό* to *ξυμμαχίαν . . . οὐδενός πω δέξασθαι* is reflected in the commentaries on this passage. Poppo says: "*τὸ δ' ἐπὶ κακουργίᾳ, καὶ οὐκ ἀρετῇ, ἐπετήδευσαν.* In articulo demonstrative posito nemo haerebit. Vid. Matth. Gr. § 286. Plurima exempla, ubi *ὁ δέ* et *οἱ δέ* apud Thuc. ita leguntur, velut I, 81. 87. init. 95. extr. . . . ad h. l. attulit Haack." Poppo-Stahl has this note: "De vv. *τὸ δέ* cf. Matth. Gr. § 286. Krueg. Gr. § 50, 1 adn. 4 et 81, 2. 87, 1." The text of Krueger's remark referred to by Stahl is as follows: "Ohne vorhergehendes *ὁ μέν* u. s. w. steht *ὁ δέ, οἱ δέ er, sie aber, τὸ δέ dies aber, meist ein dem vorhergehenden entgegengesetztes Subjekt* einführend, also gewöhnlich im No. oder bei obliquer Rede im Ac. *Πείθουσι τὸν Σάδοκον . . . ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς . . .* Θ. 2, 67, 2. *Ἰνάρως Ἀθηναίους ἐπηγάγετο· οἱ δὲ ἦλθον.* Θ. 1, 104, 1. *Ἴσως ὑμῖν ταυτὶ λέγων δοκῶ λέγειν ἀπαυθαδιζόμενος· τὸ δ' οὐκ ἔστι τοιοῦτον.* Πλ. *ἀπ.* 37, a. (*Τάχ' ἄν τις θαρσοίη ὅτι αὐτῶν ὑπερφέρομεν· τοῖς δὲ ἄλλη γῆ ἐστιν.* Θ. 1, 81, 1. *Φασὶ ξυμμαχίαν διὰ τὸ σῶφρον οὐδενός πω δέξασθαι· τὸ δ' ἐπὶ κακουργίᾳ καὶ οὐκ ἀρετῇ ἐπετήδευσαν.* Θ. 1, 37, 2.)" Morris, *ad loc.*: "*τὸ δέ*: *δέ* expresses a vigorous opposition, *but on the contrary*, like *cum tamen* and *τό* retains its old dem. sense. Cf. Dem. xviii. 140, *τὸ δ' οὐ τοιοῦτόν ἐστι*; Stallbaum on Plat. Apol. 23 a; Kühn. 459 c." Classen-Steup[4]: "*τὸ δέ* nimmt mit lebhafter Entgegnung das *οὐδενός πω ξυμμαχίαν δέχεσθαι* wieder auf. Vgl. 2, 89, 3 u. zu c. 81, 2." Thompson, *ad Men.* 97 C: "On the other hand, in Thuc. 1, 37, 2 *τὸ δ' ἐπὶ κακουργίᾳ ἐπετήδευσαν, τό* resumes *ξυμμαχίαν οὐδενὸς δέξασθαι* from the previous clause, and is distinctly acc. governed by *ἐπετήδευσαν*." Marchant: "*τὸ δέ*—'but that,' *τό* being *demonstrative* in sense."

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In view of this overwhelming testimony in favor of resumptive *τὸ δέ*, Classen's note *ad loc.* might well be ignored, but it sheds interesting light on the history of commentary. It is as follows: "*τὸ δέ* zum Ausdruck lebhafter Entgegnung, fast mit der Wirkung einer adversativen Conjunction, wie *cum tamen*. vgl. Buttmann zu Plat. Men. c. 38 d. Stallbaum zur Apol. p. 23 a." Classen is evidently under the spell of the Heindorf doctrine, but his intimate acquaintance with Thucydides has had the effect of partially breaking this spell, and he has been kept from committing himself unreservedly to the "conjunctional" theory.

The conclusion, then, with reference to the *τὸ δέ* of the passage before us is that *τό* is a resumptive pronoun; that it is in the accusative case and is the direct object of *ἐπετήδευσαν*; and that its antecedent, instead of being a single word, is a phrase, namely, *τὸ μηδενὸς ξυμμαχίαν δέχεσθαι*, involved in the words *ξυμμαχίαν . . . οὐδενός πω δέξασθαι*.

A similar example to the previous one is found at Thuc. ii, 89, 3. To understand it, it will be necessary to give the whole context. The passage is as follows: *ἔπειτα ᾧ μάλιστα πιστεύοντες προσέρχονται, ὡς προσῆκον σφίσιν ἀνδρείοις εἶναι, οὐ δι' ἄλλο τι θαρσοῦσιν ἢ διὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ πεζῷ ἐμπειρίαν τὰ πλείω κατορθοῦντες καὶ οἴονται σφίσι καὶ ἐν τῷ ναυτικῷ ποιήσειν τὸ αὐτό. τὸ δ' ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου ἡμῖν μᾶλλον νῦν περιέσται, εἴπερ καὶ τούτοις ἐν ἐκείνῳ, ἐπεὶ εὐψυχίᾳ γε οὐδὲν προφέρουσι, τῷ δὲ ἑκάτεροι ἐμπειρότεροι εἶναι θρασύτεροί ἐσμεν.* Whatever may be the exact antecedent of *τό* in this passage, whether it be *κατορθοῦν ἐν τῷ ναυτικῷ*, as Classen thinks — why not *κατορθοῦν* alone? — or *ἀνδρείοις εἶναι*, as Thompson holds (see his note on *Meno* 97 C), the fact is that the two scholars agree that *τὸ* (*δέ*) is here a resumptive pronoun, and, this being granted, one would naturally conclude that the case is the nominative. It is true that Classen, *ad loc.*, has the note, "*τὸ δέ* zu 1, 37, 2, nämlich *κατορθοῦν ἐν τῷ ναυτικῷ*," and at i, 37, 2 he gives the note cited above on this page. But Classen, as was pointed out before, while clearly under the spell of tradition, does not fully commit himself to the adverbial use of *τὸ* (*δέ*) in i, 37, 2, and at ii, 89, 3 the second part

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of his note militates against the first part. As this second part represents the product of Classen's own brain, it is reasonably safe to infer that he thought of *τὸ* (*δέ*) here as the nominative, and this is the view to which Steup, Classen's editorial successor, and Thompson (*ad Men.* 97 C) expressly commit themselves. There is no greater reason for believing *τὸ* (*δέ*) of Thuc. ii, 89, 3 to be an accusative of respect than there is for so construing the *τό* of Hdt. i, 170, *ἐκέλευε ἓν βουλευτήριον Ἴωνας ἐκτῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ εἶναι ἐν Τέῳ*, and supplying another *βουλευτήριον* with *εἶναι*. In like manner, in Plato, *Apol.* 38 A, *ἐάν τ' αὖ λέγω ὅτι καὶ τυγχάνει μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ὂν ἀνθρώπῳ τοῦτο, ἑκάστης ἡμέρας περὶ ἀρετῆς τοὺς λόγους ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, περὶ ὧν ὑμεῖς ἐμοῦ ἀκούετε διαλεγομένου καὶ ἐμαυτὸν καὶ ἄλλους ἐξετάζοντος, ὁ δὲ ἀνεξέταστος βίος οὐ βιωτὸς ἀνθρώπῳ, ταῦτα δ' ἔτι ἧττον πείσεσθέ μοι λέγοντι. τὰ δὲ ἔχει μὲν οὕτως, ὡς ἐγώ φημι, ὦ ἄνδρες, πείθειν δὲ οὐ ῥᾴδιον*, no one at all familiar with the resumptive use of *δ* (*δέ*) would for a moment think of construing *τὰ* (*δέ*) otherwise than as the subject of *ἔχει*. In the light, then, of all that has been said above, there would seem to be no justification for including Thuc. ii, 89, 3 in the list of examples of adverbial *τὸ δέ*.

Let us now consider Soph. *Tr.* 1170–2: *ἔφασκε* (sc. *ἡ δρῦς*) *μόχθων τῶν ἐφεστώτων ἐμοὶ | λύσιν τελεῖσθαι· κἀδόκουν πράξειν καλῶς· | τὸ δ' ἦν ἄρ' οὐδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν θανεῖν ἐμέ.* Jebb has the following note: "*τὸ δ'* refers to *λύσιν τελεῖσθαι*: 'but *that* (the promised release) was, it seems, only my death.' Cp. Plato, *Rep.* 357 A: *ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν . . . ᾤμην λόγου ἀπηλλάχθαι· τὸ δ' ἦν ἄρα, ὡς ἔοικε, προοίμιον.*" I had thought before reading Jebb's note that *τό* referred more immediately to *πράξειν καλῶς* than to *λύσιν τελεῖσθαι*. But there is little practical difference between the two views, and the uncertainty is no greater than in the case of the English *it*, *this*, *the case*, used under similar circumstances. The indefiniteness of reference is no argument against the construction claimed for *τό*. Indeed, there is a similar indefiniteness in the case of other pronouns in Greek. Take, for example, Thuc. ii, 60, 5–6: *καίτοι ἐμοὶ τοιούτῳ ἀνδρὶ ὀργίζεσθε ὃς οὐδενὸς οἴομαι ἥσσων εἶναι γνῶναί τε τὰ δέοντα καὶ ἑρμηνεῦσαι*

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ταῦτα, φιλόπολίς τε καὶ χρημάτων κρείσσων. ὅ τε γὰρ γνοὺς καὶ μὴ σαφῶς διδάξας ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐνεθυμήθη· ὅ τ' ἔχων ἀμφότερα, τῇ δὲ πόλει δύσνους, οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως τι οἰκείως φράζοι· προσόντος δὲ καὶ τοῦδε, χρήμασι δὲ νικωμένου, τὰ ξύμπαντα τούτου ἑνὸς ἂν πωλοῖτο. It is perfectly clear that *προσόντος δὲ καὶ τοῦδε* refers to the presence of patriotism and yet the exact verbal antecedent is not clear; it might be *τὸ μὴ δύσνουν εἶναι τῇ πόλει, τὸ εὔνουν εἶναι, τὸ φιλόπολιν εἶναι,* or even *εὔνοια.* It would be absurd to say that, because one cannot be sure of the exact verbal form of the antecedent of *τοῦδε,* therefore *τοῦδε* has no antecedent, and it is just as absurd to say that, because there is a similar indefiniteness in the Sophoclean passage, therefore *τό* has no reference to anything that precedes. Hence Campbell's note on *Tr.* 1172 should give us no concern: "*τὸ δ' ἦν ἄρ'*] 'Whereas the truth of it was.' Cp. Plat. Rep. 2. 357 A, *τὸ δ' ἦν ἄρα, ὡς ἔοικε, προοίμιον.*" This note was written under the domination of the Heindorf-Ast explanation of phraseological *τὸ δέ,* but Campbell later changed his mind, for in the Jowett-Campbell edition of Plato's *Republic τὸ δέ* of 357 A is viewed as a nominative. It may be regarded as certain, then, that *Tr.* 1172 must likewise be excluded from the list of examples of adverbial *τὸ δέ.*

Let us next take up Dem. 18, 140: *ἓν δ' ἐπεξειργάσατ' ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοιοῦτον, ὃ πᾶσι τοῖς προτέροις ἐπέθηκεν τέλος· περὶ οὗ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀνήλωσεν λόγους, τὰ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων διεξιὼν δόγματα, ὡς διαστρέψων τἀληθές. τὸ δ' οὐ τοιοῦτόν ἐστι.* Dissen, *ad loc.,* says, "Notissimus hodie hic usus articuli," and he gives the well-known reference to Heindorf's *Theaet.* Blass, *ad loc.,* is still in the bonds of tradition. He says of *τὸ δέ*: "häufig nam. b. Platon zu Anfang des Satzes adverbartig, 'aber.' Krüger § 50, 1, 14." Goodwin, *ad loc.,* has a similar note: "*τὸ δ',* *but in fact:* this *τὸ δέ,* with no correlative *τὸ μέν,* is common in Plato, introducing an adversative statement. See Apol. 23 A . . . So Rep. 340 D (end), 357 A. — *οὐ τοιοῦτόν ἐστι,* i.e. *this cannot be done* (*the case is not of such a nature*), referring to *ὡς διαστρέψων τἀληθές.*" But in spite of Dissen, Blass, and Goodwin, in view of

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the passages previously discussed and the arguments previously given, it seems certain that we must follow Westermann-Rosenberg[7], who remarks, *ad loc.*: "Ohne vorhergegangenes *ὁ μέν* steht *ὁ δέ, τὸ δέ* dies aber, meist ein dem vorhergehenden entgegengesetztes Subjekt einführend." *τὸ* (*δέ*) means the matter referred to in *ἓν δ' ἐπεξειργάσατ(ο)*. It is in the nominative case and is the subject of *ἐστί*.

Similar to the foregoing example is Isoc. 15, 133–4: *ὧν οὐδέν σοι μεμέληκεν, ἀλλ' ἦν ἐπιεικῶς τῶν ἔξω πραγμάτων ἐπιμεληθῇς, οἴει σοι καὶ τοὺς ἐνθάδε πολιτευομένους καλῶς ἕξειν. τὸ δ' οὐχ οὕτως ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν.* *τὸ* (*δέ*) is '*this*,' '*the matter*,' '*what you suppose*,' and is the subject of *φιλεῖ*.

Ground has now been broken for the consideration of the Platonic passages. Ample evidence has been furnished of the existence of a resumptive *τὸ* (*δέ*) that may be the subject or the object of a verb, while its antecedent is not a substantive or a pronoun but the concept contained in some other part of speech, or in a phrase, clause, or whole sentence. It will, therefore, be unnecessary to discuss this phase of the question any further. Moreover, whilst we have had one example of the accusative, all the other examples have been subject nominatives. A similar, but not so great, preponderance of the latter category is noticeable also in the Platonic examples, and in the discussion that follows, the instances in which *τὸ* (*δέ*) is the subject nominative (rarely the subject accusative in indirect discourse) will be treated first. But, before taking up the more difficult examples, it will be well to dispose of a number of instances in which the antecedent of *τὸ* (*δέ*) is a definitely expressed substantive.

Timae. 51 C, *ἀλλὰ μάτην ἑκάστοτε εἶναί τί φαμεν εἶδος ἑκάστου νοητόν, τὸ δὲ οὐδὲν ἄρ' ἦν πλὴν λόγος*, is cited by Thompson as an instance of adverbial *τὸ δέ*. But *τό* refers to *εἶδος* (*νοητόν*) and is the subject of *ἦν*. Archer-Hind translates: ". . . but we talk idly when we speak of an intelligible idea as actually existent, whereas it was nothing but a conception." Jowett translates: "And is all that which we call an intelligible essence nothing at all, and only a word?"

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In *Cratyl.* 404 C, "Φερρέφαττα" δέ· πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ τοῦτο φοβοῦνται τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὸν "Ἀπόλλω," ὑπὸ ἀπειρίας, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὀνομάτων ὀρθότητος. καὶ γὰρ μεταβάλλοντες σκοποῦνται τὴν "Φερσεφόνην," καὶ δεινὸν αὐτοῖς φαίνεται· τὸ δὲ μηνύει σοφὴν εἶναι τὴν θεόν, Ast and Forman regard τὸ δέ as adverbial, but τό clearly refers to ὄνομα, namely Φερρέφαττα, and is in the nominative case. Jowett translates: "People dread the name of Pherephatta as they dread the name of Apollo, —and with as little reason; the fear, if I am not mistaken, only arises from their ignorance of the nature of names. But they go changing the name (Pherephatta) into Persephone, and they are terrified at this; whereas the new name means only that the Goddess is wise."

Compare also *Cratyl.* 404 E: ΣΩ. πολλοὶ πεφόβηνται περὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ (sc. τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος), ὥς τι δεινὸν μηνύοντος· ἢ οὐκ ᾔσθησαι; ΕΡΜ. πάνυ μὲν οὖν, καὶ ἀληθῆ λέγεις. ΣΩ. τὸ δέ γ' ἐστίν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, κάλλιστα κείμενον πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ θεοῦ. τὸ (δέ) clearly refers to ὄνομα, and the meaning of the passage is as follows: 'But the name has, in my opinion, been most appropriately bestowed in view of the power of the god.'

A companion passage to the above is *Cratyl.* 405 E: ὅπερ καὶ νῦν ὑποπτεύοντές τινες διὰ τὸ μὴ ὀρθῶς σκοπεῖσθαι τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ὀνόματος φοβοῦνται αὐτὸ ὡς σημαῖνον φθοράν τινα· τὸ δέ που, ὥσπερ ἄρτι ἐλέγετο, πασῶν ἐφαπτόμενον κεῖται τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεων. Ast and Forman regard τὸ δέ as adverbial, but, as in the preceding example, it is resumptive and in the nominative case. The antecedent is αὐτό (sc. τὸ ὄνομα), and τό is the subject of κεῖται. Jowett translates: "Now the suspicion of this destructive power still haunts the minds of some who do not consider the true value of the name, which, as I was saying just now, has reference to all the powers of the God."

In *Legg.* 731 E, which Adam, Thompson, and Stallbaum cite among the instances of adverbial τὸ δέ, τό refers to τοῦτο, *i.e.* πάντων . . . μέγιστον κακῶν, and is the subject of γίγνεται. The passage reads as follows: πάντων δὲ μέγιστον κακῶν ἀνθρώποις τοῖς πολλοῖς ἔμφυτον ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐστιν, οὗ πᾶς

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ἑαυτῷ συγγνώμην ἔχων ἀποφυγὴν οὐδεμίαν μηχανᾶται· τοῦτο δ' ἔστιν ὃ λέγουσιν ὡς φίλος αὐτῷ πᾶς ἄνθρωπος φύσει τ' ἐστὶ καὶ ὀρθῶς ἔχει τὸ δεῖν εἶναι τοιοῦτον· τὸ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ γε πάντων ἁμαρτημάτων διὰ τὴν σφόδρα ἑαυτοῦ φιλίαν αἴτιον ἑκάστῳ γίγνεται ἑκάστοτε. Jowett translates: "Whereas the excessive love of self is in reality the source to each man of all offences."

In *Ion*, 536 A–B, *καὶ ὁ μὲν τῶν ποιητῶν ἐξ ἄλλης Μούσης, ὁ δὲ ἐξ ἄλλης ἐξήρτηται· ὀνομάζομεν δὲ αὐτὸ κατέχεται· τὸ δέ ἐστι παραπλήσιον· ἔχεται γάρ, αὐτό* is *ἐξήρτηται* and *τὸ* (*δέ*) is *κατέχεται* and is the subject of *ἐστί*. The Ficino-Hirschig translation is this: "vocamus autem id nos (*κατέχεται*) occupatur (Bekker occupari): quod quidem illi proximum est: (*ἔχεται*) tenetur enim."

The passage just considered serves as a connecting link between the preceding passages, in which *τὸ* (*δέ*) refers to a definitely expressed substantive, and the passages presently to be examined, in which the antecedent of *τὸ* (*δέ*) is more or less involved.

Of these more difficult examples the first to be considered is *Rep.* 357 A: *ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα εἰπὼν ᾤμην λόγου ἀπηλλάχθαι· τὸ δ' ἦν ἄρα, ὡς ἔοικε, προοίμιον.* As *τὸ* (*δέ*) in the passage from the *Ion* refers to *κατέχεται* and is the subject of *ἐστί*, so in the present passage *τὸ* (*δέ*) has for its antecedent *ἀπηλλάχθαι*, and is the subject of *ἦν*. But there is this difference that in the former case *κατέχεται* as such, namely the term *κατέχεται*, is the antecedent, whereas in the latter case the antecedent is not the term *ἀπηλλάχθαι*, not *ἀπηλλάχθαι* as such, but *ἀπηλλάχθαι* in so far as it involves the substantive notion *ἀπαλλαγή*. Now the *ἀπαλλαγή* is not an actual riddance, but merely a supposed riddance, for *ἀπηλλάχθαι* is dependent upon *ᾤμην* and *ἡ ἀπαλλαγή* becomes *ἡ ἀπαλλαγὴ δοκοῦσα εἶναι*. It is true that Thompson, *ad Men.* 97 C, and Goodwin, *ad* Dem. 18, 140, cite the *τὸ* (*δέ*) of this passage as an instance of the adverbial use, but, on the other hand, Jowett and Campbell, *ad loc.*, say that "*τό* in *τὸ δέ* resumes *ταῦτα εἰπών*: 'What I had said, I thought was the end, but it turned out to be (*ἄρα*) only the beginning.'" Of course it is preferable to refer *τὸ* (*δέ*) to *ἀπηλλάχθαι* instead of to

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ταῦτα εἰπών, and Jowett actually translates: "With these words I was thinking I had made an end of the discussion; but the end, in truth, proved to be only a beginning," but the important point to be observed is that both Jowett and Campbell consider *τὸ* (*δέ*) to be the subject of *ἦν*. This is also the view of Jebb, *ad Trach.* 1172 (see above, p. 127), who regards *τὸ* (*δέ*) as a nominative substantive pronoun referring to *ἀπηλλάχθαι*.

Let us now turn to *Apol.* 37 A, cited by Forman, *ad Apol.* 23 A, Append., as an instance of adverbial *τὸ δέ*. The passage reads as follows: *ἴσως οὖν ὑμῖν καὶ ταυτὶ λέγων παραπλησίως δοκῶ λέγειν ὥσπερ περὶ τοῦ οἴκτου καὶ τῆς ἀντιβολήσεως, ἀπαυθαδιζόμενος· τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ τοιόνδε μᾶλλον.* Compare Dem. 18, 140: *τὸ δ' οὐ τοιοῦτόν ἐστι.* Kühner[2] and Kühner-Gerth, § 459, 1, c), regard *τό* as a nominative, though, strangely enough, they refer to Dissen *ad* Dem. *l.c.*, who argues in favor of the adverbial use of *τὸ δέ* for that passage (see above, p. 128). *τό* in our passage signifies *τὸ περὶ τοῦ ἀπαυθαδιζόμενόν με λέγειν*, and it is undoubtedly the subject of *ἐστίν*. As this view has also the support of Krüger, § 50, 1, A. 4, we may pass on to the consideration of the next passage.

In *Apol.* 39 C, *νῦν γὰρ τοῦτο εἰργάσασθέ με οἰόμενοι ἀπαλλάξεσθαι τοῦ διδόναι ἔλεγχον τοῦ βίου, τὸ δὲ ὑμῖν πολὺ ἐναντίον ἀποβήσεται, ὡς ἐγώ φημι*, Adam, *ad Apol.* 23 A, and Forman, *l.c.*, regard *τὸ δέ* as adverbial. Thompson, *ad Men.* 97 C, expresses the opinion that "*ἀποβήσεται* is impersonal and *τό* not nom.," but he admits this to be one of the ambiguous examples, and thereby concedes the possibility of taking *τὸ* (*δέ*) as a substantive pronoun in the nominative case. As a matter of fact, the passage resembles *Rep.* 357 A (see above, p. 131) as to the antecedent of *τό*, and, for the corrective clause, Isoc. 15, 134 (see above, p. 129), furnishes a parallel. Additional light may be derived from *Euthyphro*, 3 E, *εἰ δὲ σπουδάσονται, τοῦτ' ἤδη ὅπῃ ἀποβήσεται ἄδηλον πλὴν ὑμῖν τοῖς μάντεσιν*, where *τοῦτο* certainly refers to *εἰ . . . σπουδάσονται*, and *ἀποβήσεται* is not impersonal.

In *Phaedo*, 87 C, (*ὥσπερ ἄν τις*) *οἴοιτο ἀποδεδεῖχθαι ὅτι*

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παντὸς ἄρα μᾶλλον ὅ γε ἄνθρωπος σῶς ἐστιν, ἐπειδὴ τό γε ὀλιγοχρονιώτερον οὐκ ἀπόλωλεν. τὸ δ', οἶμαι, ὦ Σιμμία, οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, τὸ (δέ) is *τὸ περὶ τοῦ ἀποδεδεῖχθαι ὅτι . . . ὅ γε ἄνθρωπος σῶς ἐστιν, ἐπειδὴ κτέ.*, and it is the subject of *ἔχει*. Both Kühner[2] and Kühner-Gerth (*l.c.*) appear to share this view, and perhaps also Matthiae, § 286; but Bäumlein, *Gr. Partikeln*, p. 96, seems to regard *τὸ δέ* as adverbial. For the antecedent of *τό*, compare *Rep.* 357 A (see above) and *Apol.* 39 C (see above); for the corrective statement, compare Isoc., *l.c.*

There is another passage in the *Phaedo*, viz. 109 D–E, that is said to contain an instance of adverbial *τὸ δέ*. The passage reads thus: *ταὐτὸν δὴ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμᾶς πεπονθέναι· οἰκοῦντας γὰρ ἔν τινι κοίλῳ τῆς γῆς οἴεσθαι ἐπάνω αὐτῆς οἰκεῖν, καὶ τὸν ἀέρα οὐρανὸν καλεῖν, ὡς διὰ τούτου οὐρανοῦ ὄντος τὰ ἄστρα χωροῦντα· τὸ δὲ εἶναι ταὐτόν, ὑπ' ἀσθενείας καὶ βραδυτῆτος οὐχ οἵους τε εἶναι ἡμᾶς διεξελθεῖν ἐπ' ἔσχατον τὸν ἀέρα· ἐπεί, εἴ τις αὐτοῦ ἐπ' ἄκρα ἔλθοι ἢ πτηνὸς γενόμενος ἀνάπτοιτο, κατιδεῖν ⟨ἂν⟩ ἀνακύψαντα, ὥσπερ ἐνθάδε κτέ.* Heindorf, in a note *ad loc.*, declared that, in view of the proximity of the words *ταὐτὸν δὴ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμᾶς πεπονθέναι*, no one could ever persuade him to believe that the words *τὸ δὲ εἶναι ταὐτόν* were Plato's own words. He claimed that there was no evidence in Ficino's translation for an original *ταὐτόν*, and, taking the cue from Eusebius' *τοῦτον* for *ταὐτόν*, he proposed to read *τοιοῦτον*, maintaining that this reading would also justify the otherwise unaccountable omission of *γάρ* in the following clause. According to this view, *τὸ* (*δέ*) would be the subject of *εἶναι*. Of the other conjectures, Vögelin's (*teste* H. Schmidt) *τὸ δὲ δεινότατον* for *τὸ δὲ εἶναι ταὐτόν* is rather attractive, and has found a place in Hermann's text. This is also the reading advocated by Geddes[2] *ad loc.* If this were the correct reading, the passage would not fall within the scope of this paper. Archer-Hind (*Phaedo*[2], 1894) asserts that no satisfactory defence of the words *εἶναι ταὐτόν* has been made, and he therefore follows Rückert and Schanz in bracketing both these words. He retains *τὸ δέ* and interprets it as 'but the truth is that.' The presence of *εἶναι ταὐτόν* in our Mss is accounted for by him on the theory that these words are an

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insertion of a copyist that did not understand the idiom. But none of the above changes is perfectly satisfactory, and the excision of *εἶναι ταὐτόν*, in particular, must be regarded as hazardous from a palaeographical, as well as from a syntactical, point of view. The fact of the matter is, the traditional reading is not at all bad, and it numbers among its defenders such scholars as Ast, Hermann Schmidt, Wohlrab, and Burnet. Ast has explained the passage so succinctly that it is perhaps best simply to repeat his note here: "Ego vero viros doctos miror in v. *ταὐτόν* tanto opere offendisse. Etenim quod in similitudine illa qua usus est coniunctum reperitur (si quis in imo mari habitet opinans supra mare habitare, et: mare pro caelo habeat, propterea quod caput e mari erigere nequeat), hoc in duo nunc separatur membra (quocirca *ταὐτὸν* bis positum). Sensus est igitur: *idem nobis accidere; nos enim qui in cavo quodam terrae habitemus putare supra ipsam habitare et aërem, per quem astra currentia videamus, existimare caelum esse, propterea quod pariter atque illi* (qui in mari habitantes ad summum emergere mare non possint) *propter infirmitatem atque tarditatem ad summum nequeamus aërem pervenire.* V. *τὸ δὲ εἶναι ταὐτόν*, HOC (the small caps. are mine) *autem idem* ESSE (the small caps. are mine), valent: *eius autem rei eandem esse causam: nos videlicet non posse* cet." It is hardly necessary to add that according to the view just stated *τὸ* (*δέ*) is the subject of *εἶναι*.

Closely connected with *Phaedo*, 87 C, is *Cratyl.* 439 B–C: *ἔτι τοίνυν τόδε σκεψώμεθα, ὅπως μὴ ἡμᾶς τὰ πολλὰ ταῦτα ὀνόματα ἐς ταὐτὸν τείνοντα ἐξαπατᾷ, καὶ τῷ ὄντι μὲν οἱ θέμενοι αὐτὰ διανοηθέντες γε ἔθεντο ὡς ἰόντων ἁπάντων ἀεὶ καὶ ῥεόντων· φαίνονται γὰρ ἔμοιγε καὶ αὐτοὶ οὕτω διανοηθῆναι· τὸ δ', εἰ ἔτυχεν, οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, ἀλλ' οὗτοι αὐτοί τε ὥσπερ εἴς τινα δίνην ἐμπεσόντες κυκῶνται καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐφελκόμενοι προσεμβάλλουσιν.* Ast, *ad Rep.* 340 D, and Forman, *l.c.*, regard *τὸ δέ* as adverbial, but *τό* clearly means *ὃ διανοηθέντες ἔθεντο τὰ ὀνόματα*, sc. *ἅπαντα ἀεὶ ἰέναι καὶ ῥεῖν*, and is the subject of *ἔχει*. This view is confirmed by Ficino's translation, "quorum tamen opinio . . . falsa habenda est."

To the same group as the foregoing examples belongs

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Conv. 183 C–D: *ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν οἰηθείη ἄν τις πάγκαλον νομίζεσθαι ἐν τῇδε τῇ πόλει καὶ τὸ ἐρᾶν καὶ τὸ φίλους γίγνεσθαι τοῖς ἐρασταῖς. ἐπειδὰν δὲ . . . εἰς δὲ ταὐτά τις αὖ βλέψας ἡγήσαιτ' ἂν πάλιν αἴσχιστον τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐνθάδε νομίζεσθαι. τὸ δέ, οἶμαι, ὧδ' ἔχει.* Rettig, in a note *ad loc.*, explains *τὸ δέ* as equivalent to *τὸ δὲ ἀληθές*, and he gives the well-known references to Ast, Heindorf, Schneider, and Bernhardy. Hug[2], *ad loc.*, says, "*τὸ δέ* bezogen auf das vorher gesagte wie Symp. 198 D," and were it not for the subsequent note on 198 D, which states that *τὸ δέ* in the latter passage is "adverbiell" and means "indessen, da doch," one would suppose that Hug regarded the *τό* of our passage as a resumptive pronoun in the nominative. But be this as it may, it is fairly certain that Kühner[2] and Kühner-Gerth, *l.c.*, take *τὸ* (*δέ*) in 183 D as a nominative. Undoubtedly *τό* is the subject of *ἔχει* and means 'the matter in question,' namely, *τὸ πῶς τὸ τοιοῦτον* (sc. *τὸ ἐρᾶν καὶ τὸ φίλους γίγνεσθαι τοῖς ἐρασταῖς*) *ἐνθάδε νομίζεται.*

A companion passage to the preceding is *Theaet.* 166 A: *οὗτος δὴ ὁ Σωκράτης ὁ χρηστός, ἐπειδὴ αὐτῷ παιδίον τι ἐρωτηθὲν ἔδεισεν, εἰ οἷόν τε τὸν αὐτὸν τὸ αὐτὸ μεμνῆσθαι ἅμα καὶ μὴ εἰδέναι, καὶ δεῖσαν ἀπέφησεν διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι προορᾶν, γέλωτα δὴ τὸν ἐμὲ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀπέδειξεν. τὸ δέ, ὦ ῥᾳθυμότατε Σώκρατες, τῇδ' ἔχει.* Ast, *ad Rep.* 340 D, and Forman, *l.c.*, regard *τὸ δέ* here as adverbial; Hug uses it to illustrate *Conv.* 183 D; and Schanz, if I mistake not the tenor of his note on *Apol.* 23 A, regards it as a nominative. Hieronymus Müller also thus regards it, for he translates as follows: "Der Ehrenmann da, der Sokrates, machte einen Mann wie mich, nachdem ein Knäblein, von ihm befragt, ob es möglich sei, dass derselbe Dasselbe zugleich im Gedächtnis habe und nicht wisse, ängstlich wurde und in dieser Ängstlichkeit, weil sein Blick nicht weiter zu reichen vermochte, es verneinte, lächerlich. Das aber, du leichtfertiger Sokrates, verhält sich so." *τὸ* (*δέ*) is unquestionably the subject of *ἔχει*, and it refers to *γέλωτα δὴ τὸν ἐμὲ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀπέδειξε.*

In *Soph.* 244 A, *διδάσκετε οὖν πρῶτον τοῦτ' αὐτὸ ἡμᾶς, ἵνα μὴ δοξάζωμεν μανθάνειν μὲν τὰ λεγόμενα παρ' ὑμῶν, τὸ δὲ*

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τούτου γίγνηται πᾶν τοὐναντίον, τὸ δέ is adverbial, according to Archer-Hind, *ad Phaed.* 109 D, Bäumlein, Heindorf, and Forman. Thompson also inclines to this view, but by placing the example in the list of ambiguous instances, he admits the possibility of considering it as a nominative. The passage resembles *Apol.* 39 C. *τὸ* (*δέ*) refers to *δοξάζωμεν μανθάνειν* and means *ἡ μάθησις δοξαζομένη εἶναι.* It is the subject of *γίγνηται.*

With the previous passage may be compared *Legg.* 821 A: *τὸν μέγιστον θεὸν καὶ ὅλον τὸν κόσμον φαμὲν οὔτε ζητεῖν δεῖν οὔτε πολυπραγμονεῖν τὰς αἰτίας ἐρευνῶντας· οὐ γὰρ οὐδ' ὅσιον εἶναι· τὸ δὲ ἔοικε πᾶν τούτου τοὐναντίον γιγνόμενον ὀρθῶς ἂν γίγνεσθαι. τό* is *τὸ νῦν γιγνόμενον*, and is the subject of *ἔοικε.*

Legg. 967 A, which is regarded by Archer-Hind as adverbial and is mentioned by Thompson as an example of *τὸ δέ* in questions, finds an appropriate place here. The passage reads thus, starting at 966 E: ΑΘ. *ὁ γὰρ ἰδὼν ταῦτα μὴ φαύλως μηδ' ἰδιωτικῶς, οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἄθεος ἀνθρώπων ποτὲ πέφυκεν, ὃς οὐ τοὐναντίον ἔπαθεν ἢ τὸ προσδοκώμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ διανοοῦνται τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα μεταχειρισαμένους ἀστρονομίᾳ τε καὶ ταῖς μετὰ ταύτης ἀναγκαίαις ἄλλαις τέχναις ἀθέους γίγνεσθαι, καθεωρακότας ὡς οἷόν τε γιγνόμενα ἀνάγκαις πράγματ' ἀλλ' οὐ διανοίαις βουλήσεως ἀγαθῶν πέρι τελουμένων.* ΚΛ. *τὸ δὲ δὴ πῶς ἔχον ἂν εἴη;* *τό* is *τὸ περὶ τοῦ τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα μεταχειρισαμένους . . . ἀθέους γίγνεσθαι*, and is the subject of *εἴη.*

Similar to the previous passage is *Epp.* 329 E–330 A: *ἄλλως τε καὶ διηγγελμένον ἤδη ποτὲ τοὐναντίον ἢ τὸ πρότερον πάλιν, ὡς Πλάτωνα Διονύσιος θαυμαστῶς ὡς ἀσπάζεται. τὸ δ' εἶχε δὴ πῶς; τὸ γὰρ ἀληθὲς δεῖ φράζειν.* *τὸ* (*δέ*) is *τὸ περὶ τοῦ Πλάτωνα ὑπὸ Διονυσίου θαυμαστῶς ὡς ἀσπάζεσθαι*, and is the subject of *εἶχε.*

Let us now consider *Conv.* 198 C–E: *καὶ ἐνενόησα τότε ἄρα καταγέλαστος ὤν, ἡνίκα ὑμῖν ὡμολόγουν ἐν τῷ μέρει μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐγκωμιάσεσθαι τὸν Ἔρωτα . . . οὐδὲν εἰδὼς ἄρα τοῦ πράγματος, ὡς ἔδει ἐγκωμιάζειν ὁτιοῦν. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ὑπ' ἀβελτερίας ᾤμην δεῖν τἀληθῆ λέγειν περὶ ἑκάστου τοῦ ἐγκωμιαζομένου, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὑπάρχειν, ἐξ αὐτῶν δὲ τούτων τὰ κάλλιστα ἐκλεγομένους ὡς*

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εὐπρεπέστατα τιθέναι· καὶ πάνυ δὴ μέγα ἐφρόνουν ὡς εὖ ἐρῶν, ὡς εἰδὼς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ ἐπαινεῖν ὁτιοῦν. τὸ δὲ ἄρα, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐ τοῦτο ἦν τὸ καλῶς ἐπαινεῖν ὁτιοῦν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὡς μέγιστα ἀνατιθέναι τῷ πράγματι καὶ ὡς κάλλιστα, ἐάν τε ᾖ οὕτως ἔχοντα ἐάν τε μή· εἰ δὲ ψευδῆ, οὐδὲν ἄρ' ἦν πρᾶγμα. This passage might have been taken up in connection with *Rep.* 357 A, but its discussion at that stage would have been more difficult. The antecedent of *τὸ* (*δέ*) is *τἀληθῆ λέγειν . . . καὶ . . . τὰ κάλλιστα ἐκλεγομένους ὡς εὐπρεπέστατα τιθέναι*, and the presence of *τοῦτο* serves to confirm this view. For, if *τὸ δέ* were adverbial as Hug and Thompson think, then *τοῦτο* must of necessity be admitted to have the very antecedent that the writer claims for *τὸ* (*δέ*), and Hug expressly states that "*τοῦτο*" is "das von mir gemeinte, d. h. *τἀληθῆ λέγειν*." But this admission involves the admission that *ἦν* may have for its subject a pronoun with the antecedent just mentioned, and, of course, this pronoun may be *τὸ* (*δέ*). Now, as there is nothing to compel one to regard *τὸ δέ* here as adverbial, and as the only argument in favor of the adverbial use here is the possibility of translating *τὸ δέ* adverbially without making nonsense, the claim seems well founded that it is in every way better to construe *τό* as the subject of *ἦν*. *τοῦτο* will then be the predicate after *ἦν*, and *τὸ καλῶς ἐπαινεῖν ὁτιοῦν* is in apposition with *τοῦτο*. For the addition of an articular infinitive in apposition with *τοῦτο*, compare *Cratyl.* 430 D–E: *ἀλλ' ὅπως μή, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐν μὲν τοῖς ζωγραφήμασιν ᾖ τοῦτο, τὸ μὴ ὀρθῶς διανέμειν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν οὔ, ἀλλ' ἀναγκαῖον ᾖ ἀεὶ ὀρθῶς.*

We have now to consider a few passages in which the reference of the *τὸ δέ* to what precedes is more or less indefinite, whereas the exact meaning is embodied in a subsequent explanatory expression. The vaguer the reference, the greater the approach to what in the case of the regular demonstrative pronouns is called the anticipatory use.

In *Rep.* 527 B, the backward reference is still pretty clear. The context is as follows: *οὐ τοίνυν τοῦτό γε, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἀμφισβητήσουσιν ἡμῖν, ὅσοι καὶ σμικρὰ γεωμετρίας ἔμπειροι, ὅτι αὕτη ἡ ἐπιστήμη πᾶν τοὐναντίον ἔχει τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ λόγοις λεγομένοις ὑπὸ τῶν μεταχειριζομένων. Πῶς; ἔφη. Λέγουσι μέν*

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που μάλα γελοίως τε καὶ ἀναγκαίως· ὡς γὰρ πράττοντές τε καὶ πράξεως ἕνεκα πάντας τοὺς λόγους ποιούμενοι λέγουσι τετραγωνίζειν τε καὶ παρατείνειν καὶ προστιθέναι καὶ πάντα οὕτω φθεγγόμενοι· τὸ δ' ἐστί που πᾶν τὸ μάθημα γνώσεως ἕνεκα ἐπιτηδευόμενον. Adam, Ast, Rettig, and Schneider regard *τὸ δέ* as adverbial, but *τό* is the subject of *ἐστί . . . ἐπιτηδευόμενον* and refers to *ὃ ἐπιτηδεύουσιν* involved in *ὡς γὰρ πράττοντες . . . λέγουσι κτέ.* The exact thought is at once made clear by the appositive expression *πᾶν τὸ μάθημα.*

In *Rep.* 443 C, where Adam translates *τὸ δέ γε* by "yes, but in point of fact," the backward reference of *τὸ* (*δέ*) is perhaps a little fainter. Plato's words with context are as follows: *Τέλεον ἄρα ἡμῖν τὸ ἐνύπνιον ἀποτετέλεσται, ὃ ἔφαμεν ὑποπτεῦσαι, ὡς εὐθὺς ἀρχόμενοι τῆς πόλεως οἰκίζειν κατὰ θεόν τινα εἰς ἀρχήν τε καὶ τύπον τινὰ τῆς δικαιοσύνης κινδυνεύομεν ἐμβεβηκέναι. Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν. Τὸ δέ γε ἦν ἄρα, ὦ Γλαύκων, δι' ὃ καὶ ὠφελεῖ, εἴδωλόν τι τῆς δικαιοσύνης, τὸ τὸν μὲν σκυτοτομικὸν φύσει ὀρθῶς ἔχειν σκυτοτομεῖν καὶ ἄλλο μηδὲν πράττειν, τὸν δὲ τεκτονικὸν τεκταίνεσθαι, καὶ τἆλλα δὴ οὕτως.* What is meant by *τὸ* (*δέ*) is, of course, clearly set forth by the articular infinitives that follow, but these had been foreshadowed in the words *ἀρχήν τε καὶ τύπον τινὰ τῆς δικαιοσύνης.* This is also the view held by Jowett and Campbell, who have the following note *ad loc.*: "'And this (the division of labour) was really a sort of shadow of justice. Hence the advantage of it,' *i.e.* because it partakes of the nature of justice. *τό* refers to *ἀρχήν τε καὶ τύπον τινὰ τῆς δικαιοσύνης* and is further explained by *τὸ τὸν μέν, κ.τ.λ.*"

Similar to the foregoing passage is *Legg.* 803 D: *νῦν μέν που τὰς σπουδὰς οἴονται δεῖν ἕνεκα τῶν παιδιῶν γίγνεσθαι· τὰ γὰρ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἡγοῦνται σπουδαῖα ὄντα τῆς εἰρήνης ἕνεκα δεῖν εὖ τίθεσθαι. τὸ δ' ἦν ἐν πολέμῳ μὲν ἄρα οὔτ' οὖν παιδιὰ πεφυκυῖα οὔτ' αὖ παιδεία ποτὲ ἡμῖν ἀξιόλογος, οὔτε οὖσα οὔτ' ἐσομένη, ὃ δή φαμεν ἡμῖν γε εἶναι σπουδαιότατον· δεῖ δὴ τὸν κατ' εἰρήνην βίον ἕκαστον πλεῖστόν τε καὶ ἄριστον διεξελθεῖν.* In spite of the difficulties, textual and exegetical, that this passage presents, there seems to be no good reason for taking *τὸ δέ* adverbially as Heindorf, Stallbaum, Thompson, and

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Forman do. *τό* is 'the matter of military pursuits' referred to in the previous sentence, and this is further explained by the relative *ὃ δή φαμεν ἡμῖν γε εἶναι σπουδαιότατον.* The meaning of the sentence beginning with *τὸ δ'* is as follows: 'But military pursuits, by their very nature, are not a pastime in war, nor do they ever, or will they ever, constitute for us an education worth mentioning.' *τό* is the subject of *ἦν, ἐν πολέμῳ* is contrasted with *ποτέ*, and *μέν* has for its correlative *αὖ.* This view receives partial support from Hieronymus Müller, who translates thus: "aber das Treiben im Kriege, von dem wir behaupten, dass es, für uns wenigstens, das ernsteste sei, bot, seiner Natur nach, weder ergötzliche Unterhaltung, noch erkleckliche Unterweisung, noch bietet sie dieselbe oder wird sie bieten."

Here belongs also *Rep.* 527 D: *ἡδὺς εἶ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὅτι ἔοικας δεδιότι τοὺς πολλούς, μὴ δοκῇς ἄχρηστα μαθήματα προστάττειν. τὸ δ' ἐστὶν οὐ πάνυ φαῦλον ἀλλὰ χαλεπὸν πιστεῦσαι ὅτι ἐν τούτοις τοῖς μαθήμασιν ἑκάστου ὄργανόν τι ψυχῆς ἐκκαθαίρεταί τε καὶ ἀναζωπυρεῖται ἀπολλύμενον καὶ τυφλούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδευμάτων, κρεῖττον ὂν σωθῆναι μυρίων ὀμμάτων· μόνῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ ἀλήθεια ὁρᾶται.* *τὸ* (*δέ*) is the subject of *ἐστίν*, and its meaning, vaguely outlined by *μὴ δοκῇς ἄχρηστα μαθήματα προστάττειν*, is clearly defined by the *ὅτι* clause which follows. Here Adam again takes *τὸ δέ* adverbially, whereas Jowett and Campbell agree with the interpretation given above. They have the following note on the passage: "*τὸ δ' ἔστιν . . . ὅτι*] 'whereas it is a high truth although believed by few, that,' etc. *τό* is the subject of *ἔστιν* and is explained by the clause introduced by *ὅτι.*"

A similar passage is found in the *Theaetetus*, 207 A–B, where, however, Campbell, *ad loc.*, takes *τὸ δέ* in the sense of 'whereas.' The passage is as follows: *ὁ δέ γε ἴσως οἴοιτ' ἂν ἡμᾶς, ὥσπερ ἂν τὸ σὸν ὄνομα ἐρωτηθέντας καὶ ἀποκρινομένους κατὰ συλλαβήν, γελοίους εἶναι, ὀρθῶς μὲν δοξάζοντας καὶ λέγοντας ἃ λέγομεν, οἰομένους δὲ γραμματικοὺς εἶναι καὶ ἔχειν τε καὶ λέγειν γραμματικῶς τὸν τοῦ Θεαιτήτου ὀνόματος λόγον· τὸ δ' οὐκ εἶναι ἐπιστημόνως οὐδὲν λέγειν, πρὶν ἂν διὰ τῶν στοιχείων μετὰ τῆς ἀληθοῦς δόξης ἕκαστον περαίνῃ τις, ὅπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς*

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πρόσθε που ἐρρήθη. τό means τὸ λέγειν τι ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς λέγομεν, which is suggested by οἰομένους . . . λέγειν γραμματικῶς and is still further defined by the πρίν clause. Müller's translation harmonizes with this view. It is as follows: "Diesem würden wir aber vielleicht lächerlich erscheinen; ebenso, als wenn wir nach deinem Namen befragt, silbenweise darauf antworteten, indem wir die richtige Vorstellung davon hätten und das Richtige darüber aussagten, deshalb aber Sprachkundige zu sein und als solche die Gründe für die Schreibung des Namens Theätetos zu wissen und angeben zu können vermeinten. *Das hiess aber*[1] nicht mit Kenntniss sich ausdrücken, wenn man nicht Jegliches mittels einer richtigen Vorstellung vollständig nach seinen Bestandtheilen beschreibe, was auch im Vorigen irgendwo einmal gesagt wurde."

In *Legg.* 684 C, which is bracketed by Schanz after Stallbaum and Zeller, τὸ (δέ) refers forward to a conditional clause. The passage reads as follows: ΑΘ. καὶ μὴν τοῦτό γε οἱ πολλοὶ προστάττουσιν τοῖς νομοθέταις, ὅπως τοιούτους θήσουσιν τοὺς νόμους οὓς ἑκόντες οἱ δῆμοι καὶ τὰ πλήθη δέξονται, καθάπερ ἂν εἴ τις γυμνασταῖς ἢ ἰατροῖς προστάττοι μεθ' ἡδονῆς θεραπεύειν τε καὶ ἰᾶσθαι τὰ θεραπευόμενα σώματα. ΜΕ. παντάπασι μὲν οὖν. ΑΘ. τὸ δέ γ' ἐστὶν ἀγαπητὸν πολλάκις, εἰ καί τις μετὰ λύπης μὴ μεγάλης δύναιτο εὐεκτικά τε καὶ ὑγιῆ σώματα ἀπεργάζεσθαι. Here τὸ (δέ), which is defined by εἰ καί τις μετὰ λύπης . . . δύναιτο . . . ὑγιῆ σώματα ἀπεργάζεσθαι, is the very opposite of the μεθ' ἡδονῆς θεραπεύειν κτέ., and its use may be defended on the ground that it is the correlative τὸ δέ with suppressed τὸ μέν. Just as οἱ δέ 'but they' may mean not only 'they who have just been mentioned,' but also 'others' or 'the others,' the meaning being determined by the context, so τὸ δέ may mean not only 'but it,' *i.e.* the thing just referred to, but it may also mean 'some other thing,' or 'the other thing' held in view and determined by a subsequent explanatory term or clause. In other words, τὸ δέ may be anticipatory and we have here a well-developed instance of this use.

[1] The italics are mine.—C. W. E. M.

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We shall now discuss the passages in which *τὸ* (*δέ*) is not the subject of the verb. In each instance as much of the context as may appear desirable will first be cited, and the necessary comment will follow.

Theaet. 200 D: *ἆρ' οὖν ἡμῖν, ὦ παῖ, καλῶς ὁ λόγος ἐπιπλήττει, καὶ ἐνδείκνυται ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθῶς ψευδῆ δόξαν προτέραν ζητοῦμεν ἐπιστήμης, ἐκείνην ἀφέντες; τὸ δ' ἐστὶν ἀδύνατον γνῶναι, πρὶν ἄν τις ἐπιστήμην ἱκανῶς λάβῃ τί ποτ' ἐστίν. τὸ δέ*, which is considered adverbial by Forman, refers to the knowledge sought as expressed by the words *ψευδῆ δόξαν . . . ζητοῦμεν.* It is the inner object of the verb *γνῶναι*, and the sentence may be translated 'But this information it is impossible to get until one has ascertained what knowledge is.' Compare Hieronymus Müller's translation: "Jenes aber einzusehen, ist unmöglich, bevor Jemand die Erkenntniss richtig fasste." Campbell's view also essentially agrees with the one given above. His note *ad loc.* is: "*τὸ δέ*] Sc. *ψευδὴς δόξα τί ποτ' ἐστίν.*" It seemed to me better to take *τό* as the object of *γνῶναι*, but, of course, something might be said in favor of *ψευδῆ δόξαν* as the antecedent of *τό*, and in that case *τό* might be construed as the nominative subject of *ἐστίν.*

Rep. 340 D: *ἀλλ' οἶμαι λέγομεν τῷ ῥήματι οὕτως, ὅτι ὁ ἰατρὸς ἐξήμαρτε καὶ ὁ λογιστὴς ἐξήμαρτε καὶ ὁ γραμματιστής· τὸ δ', οἶμαι, ἕκαστος τούτων καθ' ὅσον τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὃ προσαγορεύομεν αὐτόν, οὐδέποτε ἁμαρτάνει.* Here all the authorities consulted, Adam, Bäumlein, Forman, Goodwin, Heindorf, Jowett and Campbell, Rettig, Schneider, and Stallbaum, agree in regarding *τὸ δέ* as adverbial. *τό* rather refers to the *ἁμάρτημα* involved in the statement *ἐξήμαρτε*, and it is the inner object of *ἁμαρτάνει.* The meaning is: 'But such mistake none of them ever makes in so far as he is (really) what we call him.'

Legg. 642 A: *σκοπῶ δή, μὴ δόξαν ὑμῖν παράσχωμαι περὶ σμικροῦ πολλὰ λέγειν, μέθης πέρι σμικροῦ πράγματος παμμήκη λόγον ἀνακαθαιρόμενος. τὸ δὲ ἡ κατὰ φύσιν αὐτοῦ διόρθωσις οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο ἄνευ μουσικῆς ὀρθότητός ποτε σαφὲς οὐδὲ ἱκανὸν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀπολαβεῖν· μουσικὴ δὲ ἄνευ παιδείας τῆς πάσης οὐκ ἂν αὖ ποτε δύναιτο.* Archer-Hind and Stallbaum regard

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τὸ δέ as adverbial. But *τό* is *τὸ πρᾶγμα* (sc. *μέθη*) and is the object of *ἀπολαβεῖν*. *σαφές* and *ἱκανόν* are predicative adjectives, agreeing with *τό*. Jowett translates: "Now I am afraid of appearing to elicit a very long discourse out of very small materials. For drinking, indeed, may appear to be a slight matter, and yet is one which cannot be rightly ordered according to nature without correct principles of music; these are necessary to any clear or satisfactory treatment of the subject, and music again runs up into education generally, and there is much to be said about all this."

Legg. 630 D: ΚΛ. *ὦ ξένε, τὸν νομοθέτην ἡμῶν ἀποβάλλομεν εἰς τοὺς πόρρω νομοθέτας;* ΑΘ. *οὐχ ἡμεῖς γε, ὦ ἄριστε, ἀλλ' ἡμᾶς αὐτούς, ὅταν οἰώμεθα πάντα τά τ' ἐν Λακεδαίμονι καὶ τὰ τῇδε πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον μάλιστα βλέποντας Λυκοῦργόν τε καὶ Μίνω τίθεσθαι τὰ νόμιμα.* ΚΛ. *τὸ δὲ πῶς χρῆν ἡμᾶς λέγειν;* Jowett and Campbell, and Thompson, regard *τὸ δέ* as adverbial. But *τό* means *τὸ περὶ τοῦ πρὸς τί βλέποντες Λυκοῦργός τε καὶ Μίνως ἐτίθεντο τὰ νόμιμα*, and it is the object of *λέγειν*. *τὸ δὲ πῶς χρῆν ἡμᾶς λέγειν*; is 'How, then, ought we to put the matter?'

Politic. 263 D: ΞΕ. *καὶ ἔμοιγε δὴ τότ' ἐφάνης μέρος ἀφαιρῶν ἡγεῖσθαι καταλιπεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν αὖ πάντων γένος ἕν, ὅτι πᾶσι ταὐτὸν ἐπονομάζειν ἔσχες ὄνομα, θηρία καλέσας.* ΝΕ. ΣΩ. *ἦν καὶ ταῦτα οὕτως.* ΞΕ. *τὸ δέ γε, ὦ πάντων ἀνδρειότατε, τάχ' ἄν, εἴ που φρόνιμόν ἐστί τι ζῷον ἕτερον, οἷον δοκεῖ τὸ τῶν γεράνων, ἤ τι τοιοῦτον ἄλλο, κατὰ ταὐτὰ ἴσως διονομάζοι, καθάπερ καὶ σύ, γεράνους μὲν ἓν γένος ἀντιτιθὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῴοις καὶ σεμνῦνον αὐτὸ ἑαυτό, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ξυλλαβὸν εἰς ταὐτὸ οὐδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν ἴσως θηρία προσείποι.* *τὸ* (*δέ*), which Campbell, *ad loc.*, and Forman regard as adverbial, refers to *γένος ἕν* and is the object of *διονομάζοι*.

Meno, 97 C: *δόξα ἄρα ἀληθὴς πρὸς ὀρθότητα πράξεως οὐδὲν χείρων ἡγεμὼν φρονήσεως· καὶ τοῦτό ἐστιν ὃ νῦν δὴ παρελείπομεν ἐν τῇ περὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς σκέψει, ὁποῖόν τι εἴη, λέγοντες ὅτι φρόνησις μόνον ἡγεῖται τοῦ ὀρθῶς πράττειν· τὸ δὲ ἄρα καὶ δόξα ἦν ἀληθής.* The Heindorfian view of *τὸ δέ*, though maintained for this passage by Archer-Hind, Bäumlein, Forman,

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Hug, Thompson, and Stallbaum, seems entirely out of place. *τὸ* is the predicate nominative after *ἦν*, of which *δόξα ἀληθής* is the subject. The antecedent of *τό* is *ἡγεμὼν τοῦ ὀρθῶς πράττειν* involved in *ἡγεῖται τοῦ ὀρθῶς πράττειν* and stated two lines before. Compare Schleiermacher's translation, ". . . als wir sagten dass Einsicht allein führen müsse beim richtigen Handeln, dies thut aber auch richtige Vorstellung."

Theaet. 157 B: *ὥστε ἐξ ἁπάντων τούτων, ὅπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐλέγομεν, οὐδὲν εἶναι ἓν αὐτὸ καθ' αὑτό, ἀλλά τινι ἀεὶ γίγνεσθαι, τὸ δ' εἶναι πανταχόθεν ἐξαιρετέον, οὐχ ὅτι ἡμεῖς πολλὰ καὶ ἄρτι ἠναγκάσμεθα ὑπὸ συνηθείας καὶ ἀνεπιστημοσύνης χρῆσθαι αὐτῷ. τὸ δ' οὐ δεῖ, ὡς ὁ τῶν σοφῶν λόγος, οὔτε τι ξυγχωρεῖν οὔτε του οὔτ' ἐμοῦ οὔτε τόδε οὔτ' ἐκεῖνο οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ὄνομα ὅ τι ἂν ἱστῇ, ἀλλὰ κατὰ φύσιν φθέγγεσθαι γιγνόμενα κτέ.* This is the passage apropos of which Heindorf wrote the well-known note quoted at the beginning of this paper. It is not at all surprising, then, that not less than fourteen scholars have expressed themselves in favor of adverbial *τὸ δέ* here. Yet it seems tolerably clear that *τό* refers to *χρῆσθαι αὐτῷ* and is the inner object of *δεῖ*, and, as the passage now stands, *ξυγχωρεῖν* is in apposition with *τό*. The same construction is found below in the case of *τοῦτο*, 183 A–B: *πλήν γε, ὦ Θεόδωρε, ὅτι οὕτω τε εἶπον καὶ οὐχ οὕτω. δεῖ δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦτο, οὕτω λέγειν.* Campbell[2], *ad loc.*, seems to agree with the explanation given here. His note reads thus: "*τὸ δ' οὐ δεῖ*] Sc. *ποιεῖν*. Or rather *τό* is an accusative in opposition to the active of *ξυγχωρεῖν, κ.τ.λ.*"

Phileb. 24 E: *φαίνεται γοῦν, ὦ Σώκρατες· ἔστι δ', ὅπερ εἶπες, οὐ ῥᾴδια ταῦτα ξυνέπεσθαι· τὸ δὲ εἰσαῦθίς τε καὶ αὖθις ἴσως λεχθέντα τόν τε ἐρωτῶντα καὶ τὸν ἐρωτώμενον ἱκανῶς ἂν ξυμφωνοῦντας ἀποφήνειεν.* This passage, which is cited by Thompson as an instance of adverbial *τὸ δέ*, seems not to belong here at all. *τό* is an article and limits the adverbial expression *εἰσαῦθίς τε καὶ αὖθις*.

Protag. 344 E: *τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἐσθλῷ ἐγχωρεῖ κακῷ γενέσθαι, ὥσπερ καὶ παρ' ἄλλου ποιητοῦ μαρτυρεῖται τοῦ εἰπόντος "αὐτὰρ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς τοτὲ μὲν κακός, ἄλλοτε δ' ἐσθλός"· τῷ δὲ κακῷ οὐκ ἐγχωρεῖ γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ εἶναι ἀνάγκη· ὥστε τὸν μὲν*

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εὐμήχανον καὶ σοφὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἐπειδὰν ἀμήχανος συμφορὰ καθέλῃ, οὐκ ἔστι μὴ οὐ κακὸν ἔμμεναι· σὺ δὲ φῄς, ὦ Πιττακέ, χαλεπὸν ἐσθλὸν ἔμμεναι· τὸ δ' ἐστὶν γενέσθαι μὲν χαλεπόν, δυνατὸν δέ, ἔμμεναι δὲ ἀδύνατον. Here Ast, Schneider, and Forman are advocates of the adverbial use of *τὸ δέ*. But *τό* resumes *ἐσθλόν* and is the predicate after *γενέσθαι* and *ἔμμεναι*.

Theaet. 183 A: *καλὸν ἂν ἡμῖν συμβαίνοι τὸ ἐπανόρθωμα τῆς ἀποκρίσεως, προθυμηθεῖσιν ἀποδεῖξαι ὅτι πάντα κινεῖται, ἵνα δὴ ἐκείνη ἡ ἀπόκρισις ὀρθὴ φανῇ. τὸ δ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐφάνη, εἰ πάντα κινεῖται, πᾶσα ἀπόκρισις, περὶ ὅτου ἄν τις ἀποκρίνηται, ὁμοίως ὀρθὴ εἶναι, οὕτω τ' ἔχειν φάναι καὶ μὴ οὕτω, εἰ δὲ βούλει, γίγνεσθαι, ἵνα μὴ στήσωμεν αὐτοὺς τῷ λόγῳ.* Forman includes this example in his list of adverbial *τὸ δέ*'s. But it seems altogether likely that the *ὀρθή* following *ὁμοίως* is a gloss. In that case *τό* would resume *ὀρθή* of *ὀρθὴ φανῇ*, and would be the predicate after *εἶναι*. The sense of the passage would be: 'But it has turned out that every reply appears to be this (*i.e.* correct) in like degree.'

There remains but one Platonic example, namely *Apol.* 23 A: *ὥστε πολλὰς διαβολὰς ἀπ' αὐτῶν γεγονέναι, ὄνομα δὲ τοῦτο λέγεσθαι, σοφὸς εἶναι. οἴονται γάρ με ἑκάστοτε οἱ παρόντες ταῦτα αὐτὸν εἶναι σοφόν, ἃ ἂν ἄλλον ἐξελέγξω· τὸ δὲ κινδυνεύει, ὦ ἄνδρες, τῷ ὄντι ὁ θεὸς σοφὸς εἶναι, καὶ ἐν τῷ χρησμῷ τούτῳ τοῦτο λέγειν ὅτι ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη σοφία ὀλίγου τινὸς ἀξία ἐστὶ καὶ οὐδενός· καὶ φαίνεται τοῦτον λέγειν τὸν Σωκράτη, προσκεχρῆσθαι δὲ τῷ ἐμῷ ὀνόματι ἐμὲ παράδειγμα ποιούμενος, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ εἴποι ὅτι οὗτος ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνθρωποι, σοφώτατός ἐστιν, ὅστις ὥσπερ Σωκράτης ἔγνωκεν ὅτι οὐδενὸς ἄξιός ἐστι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ πρὸς σοφίαν.* All the commentators and grammarians follow Heindorf in explaining the *τὸ δέ* of the above passage as adverbial. To me it seems that the sense is very much improved by giving to *τό* a definite reference. *τὸ* (*δέ*) virtually resumes *ταῦτα* of the previous sentence and means *τὴν περὶ ταῦτα ἃ ἂν ἄλλον ἐξελέγξω σοφίαν.* It is the accusative of respect with the adjective *σοφός*: *τὸ δὲ κινδυνεύει . . . ὁ θεὸς σοφὸς εἶναι,* 'It looks as though God possessed this knowledge.' Compare 20 D: *τῷ ὄντι γὰρ κινδυνεύω ταύτην εἶναι σοφός.*

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Socrates does not make the absolute statement that God is the sole possessor of wisdom, but the train of thought is this: "Perhaps thou that I myself possess that knowledge of the lack of which I convict others. But it appears to me that it is really God that possesses this knowledge and that it was not because of any positive attainments on my part that, in the oracle, he declared that no one possessed greater knowledge than I, but he simply meant to say that human knowledge amounts to little or nothing; and, though the oracle apparently referred to me, God merely availed himself of my name to use me as a pattern as though he had said, 'He is the wisest among you, mortals, who, like Socrates, knows that all that he knows is in reality of no consequence.'"

There have been examined in the above pages 42 examples of τὸ δέ, all of which, with perhaps two or three exceptions, have been cited as instances of the Homeric use. Of these examples, 36 are found in Plato, two in Thucydides, and one each in Sophocles, Isocrates, and Demosthenes. My collection also comprises two examples from Lucian and one from the περὶ ὑψους, which, with the above, make a total of 44 examples. Among all these there is not one certain instance of the construction in question. In all the passages considered, τὸ δέ, instead of being merely phraseological, adverbial, or conjunctional, may be explained as an integral part of the construction of the sentence. The question to be determined is whether it *must* be so explained. The answer to this question depends upon the results of further investigation. In the above pages only the examples that have been found in the commentaries, or such as have come to light without systematic search, have been considered. It is true, an exhaustive examination that has since been made of the whole of Thucydides and of 150 pages of Plato, has failed to reveal any additional examples, but that is not enough for a final determination of the problem. A full exhibit of the usage in question is imperative, and a comprehensive study of the adverbial use of the article is indispensable. It is my purpose, therefore, to complete the studies just mentioned before expressing a final opinion on the matter in question,

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but in the light of the facts above presented, thus much seems even now to be clear: —

1. Whilst there is a general agreement among scholars as to the existence of Heindorfian τὸ δέ, there is a corresponding disagreement as to the real nature of the idiom.

2. The vast majority of the examples that have been cited in support of the construction most certainly do not belong to that category.

3. The number of examples of the construction cannot, in any case, be very large, and Heindorf's "abunde ubivis est exemplorum" is a great exaggeration.

4. It is not safe by emendation to introduce the construction into the text of an author, as some scholars do in Plato, *Phaedo*, 109 D, nor is it sound practice to explain instances of τὸ δέ after the Heindorfian fashion if other satisfactory explanations lie near at hand.

5. Until further data are available, it is futile to attempt any new explanation of the phenomenon in question, or to argue about the relative merits of the various explanations that have already been offered.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

FORTIETH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

HELD AT TORONTO, CANADA, DECEMBER, 1908

ALSO OF THE TENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE

Philological Association of the Pacific Coast

HELD AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

NOVEMBER, 1908

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MEMBERS IN ATTENDANCE AT THE FORTIETH ANNUAL MEETING, TORONTO, CANADA

Hamilton Ford Allen, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
Louis F. Anderson, Whitman College, Walla Walla, Wash.
William B. Anderson, Queen's University, Kingston, Can.
Henry H. Armstrong, Yankton College, Yankton, S. D.
R. Arrowsmith, New York, N. Y.
Frank Cole Babbitt, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.
Samuel E. Bassett, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt.
William N. Bates, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
Charles E. Bennett, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
Campbell Bonner, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Carl D. Buck, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Edward Capps, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
Earnest Cary, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
George H. Chase, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Charles Upson Clark, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
Harold Loomis Cleasby, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y.
Norman W. DeWitt, Victoria College, Toronto, Can.
Charles L. Durham, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
Thomas Fitz-Hugh, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.
Roy C. Flickinger, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
Harold N. Fowler, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
Thomas D. Goodell, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
Charles J. Goodwin, Lehigh University, So. Bethlehem, Pa.
Richard Mott Gummere, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.
George D. Hadzsits, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
Walter D. D. Hadzsits, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
William Gardner Hale, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Albert Granger Harkness, Brown University, Providence, R. I.
Karl P. Harrington, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.
William Fenwick Harris, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Adeline Belle Hawes, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.
Richard Wellington Husband, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
Maurice Hutton, University College, Toronto, Can.
Horace L. Jones, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
George Dwight Kellogg, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
Francis W. Kelsey, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
David R. Keys, University College, Toronto, Can.
J. C. Kirtland, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H.
Charles Knapp, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
Gordon J. Laing, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

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A. G. Laird, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
Gonzalez Lodge, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
Miss Mary Bell McElwain, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
Donald Alexander MacRae, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
Allan Marquand, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
Elmer Truesdell Merrill, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
C. W. E. Miller, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
Clifford Herschel Moore, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Frank Gardner Moore, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.
George F. Moore, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Charles M. Moss, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
Wilfred P. Mustard, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
K. P. R. Neville, Western University, London, Can.
William A. Oldfather, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
Arthur Stanley Pease, Harvard University, Cambridge Mass.
Samuel Ball Platner, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
Edward Kennard Rand, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
David M. Robinson, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
John C. Rolfe, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
Henry A. Sanders, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
John Adams Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
Charles D. Seely, State Normal School, Brockport, N. Y.
F. W. Shipley, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
Paul Shorey, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
Kenneth C. M. Sills, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me.
Moses Stephen Slaughter, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
G. Oswald Smith, University College, Toronto, Can.
Alice Walton, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.
Charles Heald Weller, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.
Andrew F. West, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
James R. Wheeler, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
Harry Langford Wilson, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
John G. Winter, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
John Neville Woodcock, University of Toronto, Toronto, Can.
Willis Patten Woodman, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y.
Herbert H. Yeames, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y.
Mrs. Richard Mortimer Young, Washington, D. C.

[Total, 77]

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AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

I. PROGRAMME

MONDAY, DECEMBER 28

FIRST SESSION, 3.15 O'CLOCK P.M.

JOHN A. SCOTT
Homeric Choice of Dissyllables as Influenced by Metre (p. xlii)

GEORGE DEPUE HADZSITS
Significance of Worship and Prayer among the Epicureans (p. 73)

THOMAS D. GOODELL
A Point in the Plot of *Oedipus Tyrannus* (p. xxviii)

HAROLD L. CLEASBY
The Metaphorical Use of *Pronuba* (p. xxi)

DAVID R. KEYS
The Study of Philology in Ontario (p. xxxvi)

ROY C. FLICKINGER
Certain Numerals in the Greek Dramatic Hypotheses (p. xxvii)

WILLIAM A. OLDFATHER
Livy i, 26 and the *Supplicium de More Maiorum* (p. 49)

RICHARD M. GUMMERE
The Britons in Roman Poetry (read by title, p. xxix)

CURTIS C. BUSHNELL
Classification of Comparisons and Illustrations in Marcus Aurelius (read by title, p. xix)

JOINT SESSION WITH THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

8.15 O'CLOCK P.M.

CHARLES E. BENNETT
An Ancient Schoolmaster's Message to Present-day Teachers.
Annual Address of the President of the Association (p. xv)

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TUESDAY, DECEMBER 29

SECOND SESSION, 9.30 O'CLOCK A.M.

CAMPBELL BONNER
Notes on a Certain Use of the Reed (p. 35)

F. W. SHIPLEY
The Puteanus Group of Mss of the Third Decade of Livy (p. xlii)

GEORGE DWIGHT KELLOGG
The Satirical Elements in Rutilius Claudius Namatianus (p. xxxv)

ANDREW R. ANDERSON
The Status of the *Oe*-diphthong in Plautus (read by Professor Kellogg, p. xiv)

WILLIAM B. ANDERSON
Contributions to the Study of the Ninth Book of Livy (p. 89)

HAMILTON FORD ALLEN
Polybius and the Gods (p. xiii)

J. E. HARRY
Plato, *Phaedo* 66 B (read by Prof. Husband, p. xxxiii)

SECOND JOINT SESSION WITH THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

2.45 O'CLOCK P.M.

HERBERT CUSHING TOLMAN
The Recently Discovered Turfan Fragments of the Crucifixion of Jesus (read by title, p. xlv)

KIRBY FLOWER SMITH
Note on Dante's Designation of Vergil as *il mar di tutto il senno* (*Inf.* viii, 7; read by title)

WILLIAM N. BATES
An Unpublished Portrait of Euripides (p. xv)

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 30

9.30 O'CLOCK A.M.

KENNETH C. M. SILLS
On *Virtus* and *Fortuna* in Certain Latin Writers (read by title, p. xliii)

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PAUL SHOREY
A Greek Parallel to the Romance Adverb[1]

MAURICE HUTTON
Platonists and Aristotelians (p. xxxiv)

WILLIAM GARDNER HALE
Relative Standards in Science and in Syntax (p. xxx)

C. W. E. MILLER
On τὸ δέ = 'Whereas' (p. 121)

EDWARD H. SPIEKER
On the Use of the Dactyl after an Initial Trochee in Greek Lyric Verse (read by title, p. 5)

EDWARD K. RAND
Early Mediaeval Commentaries on Terence (read by title, p. xli)

W. S. SCARBOROUGH
Note on Cicero *ad Att.* i, 6, Pater nobis decessit a. d. IIII Kal. Dec. (read by title)

CHARLES KNAPP
Recent Contributions to the Study of Lucilius (p. xxxix)

GORDON J. LAING
Roman Milestones and the *Capita Viarum* (read by title, p. 15)

THIRD JOINT SESSION WITH THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

8 O'CLOCK P.M.

THOMAS FITZ-HUGH
The Pre-acute, Acute, Grave, and Zero Stress in Latin Speech and Rhythm (p. xxi)

WILFRED P. MUSTARD
Later Echoes of the Greek Bucolic Poets (p. xxxix)

CLIFFORD H. MOORE
Individualist Tendencies in the First Three Centuries of the Roman Empire.[2]

GEORGE HEMPL
Etruscan and Other Old-Italic Dialects (read by Prof. Buck, p. xxxiv)

[1] Reserved for Volume XL.
[2] Published in the *Harvard Theological Review*, II, 221 ff.

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II. MINUTES

TORONTO, CANADA, December 28, 1908.

The Fortieth Annual Meeting was called to order in a lecture room of the Physics Building of the University of Toronto, at 3.15 P.M., by the President, Professor Charles E. Bennett, of Cornell University.

The President reminded the members of the death of two well-known members within the past year, — Professors Thomas Day Seymour, of Yale, and John Henry Wright, of Harvard, — and announced that at a later moment committees would present resolutions in their honor.

The Chair appointed as a Committee to Audit the Treasurer's Accounts: Professors Thomas Dwight Goodell and Moses Stephen Slaughter.

The Chair also appointed as a Committee on the Place of the Next Meeting: Professors C. W. E. Miller, Carl D. Buck, and Richard W. Husband.

The Secretary, Professor Frank Gardner Moore, of Trinity College, Hartford, reported that the TRANSACTIONS and PROCEEDINGS, Volume XXXVIII, had been published in September.

The Secretary read the list of new members elected by the Executive Committee, as follows:[1] —

Prof. Arthur Adams, Trinity College, Hartford.
Prof. William B. Anderson, Queen's University.
Dr. Carroll N. Brown, College of the City of New York.
Dr. Lewis Parke Chamberlayne, Amherst College.
Dr. Mario E. Cosenza, College of the City of New York.
T. S. Denison, Chicago, Ill.
Francis H. Fobes, Harvard University.
Walter H. Freeman, Harvard University.
Walter H. Gillespie, Cheshire, Conn.
Prin. Maurice Hutton, University College, Toronto.
Prof. David R. Keys, University College, Toronto.
Miss Mary B. McElwain, Cornell University.
Dr. Ralph V. D. Magoffin, Johns Hopkins University.
Clarence W. Mendell, Yale University.
Prof. Warren I. Moore, Ouachita College.
Prof. William Abbott Oldfather, Northwestern University.
Dr. Kelley Rees, New Haven, Conn.
Martin L. Rouse, Toronto, Can.

[1] Including several names later added by the Committee.

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G. Oswald Smith, University College, Toronto.
Miss Mary V. Waite, Cornell University.
John Neville Woodcock, Trinity College, Toronto.

The Treasurer's report was accepted as follows: —

RECEIPTS

Balance, December 26, 1907		$352.35
Sales of Transactions	$159.70	
Membership dues	1353.00	
Initiation fees	135.00	
Dividends	6.00	
Interest	8.01	
Offprints	15.40	
Philological Association of the Pacific Coast	170.00	
Total receipts to December 25, 1908		1847.11
		$2199.46

EXPENDITURES

Transactions and Proceedings (Vol. XXXVIII)	$1098.90	
Salary of Secretary	300.00	
Postage	30.59	
Printing and stationery	48.97	
Express and freight	4.90	
Press clippings	5.00	
Local expenses of the Chicago meeting	7.42	
Total expenditures to December 25, 1908		$1495.78
Balance, December 25, 1908		703.68
		$2199.46

The Treasurer also called attention to the fact that the financial year of the Association ends in July, while the report closes with Christmas; that the balance in hand at the latter date is therefore somewhat misleading. It was suggested that the question of changing the financial year should be considered, if the meetings are to be regularly held in December.

The reading of papers was then begun.

JOINT SESSION WITH THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

Monday evening, December 28.

The Societies met in the larger lecture room of the Physics Building at 8.15 P.M., Professor Francis W. Kelsey, of the University of Michigan, President of the Institute, presiding.

The members were welcomed to the University of Toronto by its President, Dr. Robert A. Falconer, with response by Professor George F. Moore, of Harvard University.

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The President of the Association, Professor Charles E. Bennett, of Cornell University, delivered the annual address, *An Ancient Schoolmaster's Message to Present-day Teachers.*

Second Session

Tuesday morning, December 29.

The Association was called to order at 9.45 A.M. by the President. The session was devoted to the reading of papers.[1]

SECOND JOINT SESSION WITH THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

Tuesday afternoon, December 29.

The Societies met in the larger lecture room of the Physics Building, at 2.45 P.M., under the presidency of Principal William Peterson, of McGill University, Montreal.

This session was given to the reading of papers.

Third Session

Wednesday morning, December 30.

The Association met at 9.45 A.M., the President in the chair.

This session was devoted to papers up to 11.30 o'clock, when the business meeting began.

The Committee on the Place of the Next Meeting, by its Chairman, Professor C. W. E. Miller, reported in favor of accepting the invitation extended by the Johns Hopkins University.

The report of the Committee was accepted and adopted.

[1] At the session of the Institute held at the same hour it was voted to appoint a joint committee to draft a resolution of sympathy with Italy in the suffering occasioned by the earthquake of December 28 in Sicily and Calabria. The resolution follows: —

The American Philological Association and the Archaeological Institute of America, assembled at Toronto in annual meeting, unite in expressing to the Italian government and people their deepest sympathy in the recent disaster that has afflicted the country, and beg permission to contribute toward the relief of the sufferers.

Elmer Truesdell Merrill,
Frank Gardner Moore,
Charles U. Clark,
Committee.

A cable message was sent to the Director of the American School in Rome, Professor Jesse Benedict Carter, requesting him to join with Director Ashby, of the British School, in conveying the sympathy of the Canadian and American membership to the Italian government.

The above resolution was later communicated to Professor Carter with a draft for $54.00. Later contributions raised the amount to $64.00.

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The Nominating Committee reported by Professor Samuel Ball Platner the following list of nominations: —

President, Professor Basil L. Gildersleeve, Johns Hopkins University.
Vice-Presidents, Professor Paul Shorey, University of Chicago.
Professor John C. Rolfe, University of Pennsylvania.
Secretary and Treasurer, Professor Frank Gardner Moore, Trinity College.
Executive Committee, The above-named officers, and
Professor Harold N. Fowler, Western Reserve University.
Professor Albert Granger Harkness, Brown University.
Professor Gonzalez Lodge, Columbia University.
Professor Clifford H. Moore, Harvard University.
Professor Wilfred P. Mustard, Johns Hopkins University.

The Secretary was instructed to cast a single ballot for the above-named officers.

The Committee to audit the Treasurer's Accounts reported by the Chairman, Professor Goodell, that they had examined the accounts, compared the vouchers, verified the cash balance, and certified the correctness of the Treasurer's report. The report of the Committee was adopted.

On motion of Professor Edward Capps, of Princeton University, the following resolution was adopted by a rising vote: —

Resolved, That the American Philological Association place upon record its appreciation of the incalculable loss to American scholarship in the death of Professor Thomas Day Seymour. Fifty-nine years nine months of age at the time of his death, and for thirty-five years a professor of Greek, he was one of the longest in service of our leading classical scholars. As professor of Greek in Yale University since 1880, he had profoundly influenced classical scholarship in the United States; for during all that period he was not only well known as unusually widely read in Greek authors — especially Homer, whom he read through annually after 1870 — as well as in the literature pertaining to the classics, but as the personal friend and adviser of scholars in nearly every state in the Union he had come to be one of the best loved Grecians in America.

A man of enormous diligence and of keen intellectual insight and fine literary feeling, his vast erudition was tempered with many humane and gentle qualities, so that he attracted the love and pride of his pupils, and was the kind of scholar that tradition and legend are wont to grow about.

A loyal and active worker in this Association, his frequent philological papers and his numerous books — most of all his last and greatest work — had for the last thirty years given constant proof of his profound and broad and accurate scholarship, and his scholarly oversight as joint-editor of the "College Series" of Greek authors had much influenced sound classical instruction.

Not simply a closet scholar, but public spirited and highly efficient, he was honored with the highest offices in the gift of his classical co-workers, as President of the American Philological Association, Chairman of the Managing Committee

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of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, and President of the Archaeological Institute of America.

The intimate friend of men like F. D. Allen on this side the ocean, and of Blass and Jebb on the other side, his life is an enduring part of the best tradition of American scholarship.

Resolved, That to his widow and children we offer our heartfelt sympathy, and transmit to them, through the Secretary, a copy of these resolutions.

CHARLES FORSTER SMITH,
J. IRVING MANATT,
EDWARD CAPPS,
Committee.

On motion of Professor Paul Shorey, of the University of Chicago, the following minute was adopted: —

The American Philological Association desires to express its high appreciation of the cordial hospitality with which it has been received in Toronto, and in particular to thank the University of Toronto, its President, and the members of its classical staff for the completeness of the arrangements made to secure the comfort and convenience of their guests. The friendships formed or renewed at this meeting will strengthen the ties that already unite two communities of scholars divided only by an imaginary political line.

The Chair announced the appointment of Professor Elmer Truesdell Merrill, of the University of Chicago, as member of the Nominating Committee.

On motion of Professor Samuel Ball Platner, of Western Reserve University,

Voted, That the question of continuing the joint winter meetings with the Archaeological Institute of America after the next meeting at Baltimore be made a special order of that meeting; and that the Secretary be instructed to so inform the members in the usual circular announcing the arrangements for that meeting.

On motion of Professor James R. Wheeler, of Columbia University, the following resolution was adopted by a rising vote: —

The American Philological Association, meeting in Toronto on December 30, 1908, desires to spread upon its records a minute in memory of Professor John H. Wright, of Harvard University, formerly Secretary and President of this Association.

The Association owes a great debt of gratitude to Professor Wright for his devoted services in the earlier years of the organization and for his constant and effective interest in its growth and scientific advancement. With sound scholarship and a fine literary taste he combined both firmness of purpose and great gentleness and sweetness of character. This gave to his personality a peculiar and persuasive charm. In his death the Association has lost one of the most honored and wisest of its members.

JAMES R. WHEELER,
HAROLD N. FOWLER,
Committee.

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On motion of Professor Carl D. Buck, of the University of Chicago,

Resolved, That this Association hereby expresses its interest in the general plan looking to the creation of a new Greek Thesaurus, and its desire to coöperate in its furtherance.

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed by the President to represent the Association in this matter, and to consider the appropriate means of bringing this Association into relations with the European Academies and learned societies which are already concerned with the plans for a Greek Thesaurus.

The Chair subsequently appointed as members of this committee: Messrs. Carl D. Buck, Herbert Weir Smyth, Thomas D. Goodell, C. W. E. Miller, Edward Capps.

On motion of Professor Clifford H. Moore, of Harvard University,

Resolved, That there be constituted under the authority of this Association a commission of fifteen members on College Entrance Requirements in Latin, to formulate definitions of such requirements and to further the adoption of these definitions by our colleges and universities, in the interest of that uniformity toward the attainment of which this Association in the vote of December 28, 1907, promised to "lend all aid in its power."

Resolved, That the members of this Association who are present as representatives of the Classical Association of New England, the Atlantic States, and the Middle West and South be constituted a committee to select the commission named above; further that this commission shall consist of four members each, two representing colleges, and two, secondary schools, from the Classical Associations of New England and the Atlantic States; and seven members from the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, four representing colleges and three representing secondary schools, and shall include the Committee of Selection.[1]

On motion of Professor Elmer Truesdell Merrill,

Resolved, That the American Philological Association appoint a Committee of not less than five members to act in conference with similar Committees of other learned bodies in preparing and presenting to the Carnegie Institution in Washington a memorial asking that properly approved projects of historical, archaeological, philosophical, linguistic, literary, and artistic investigation and publication be admitted in the apportioning of grants to a recognition similar to that given approved projects of research in the physical and natural sciences.

Resolved, That the Committee be authorized to take such other steps as may seem advisable to further this end.

The Chair has named as members of this Committee: Messrs. Elmer Truesdell Merrill, Clifford H. Moore, Bernadotte Perrin, Benjamin I. Wheeler, Paul Shorey.

[1] The Committee of Selection consists of Professors J. C. Kirtland, William Gardner Hale, and Gonzalez Lodge.

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On motion of Professor Hamilton Ford Allen, of the University of Illinois,

Voted, That the standing Committee on Nominations, constituted as an experiment at the thirty-fifth annual meeting, held at New Haven, July, 1903, be and hereby is confirmed.[1]

On recommendation of the Executive Committee,

Voted, That at future meetings the total amount of time for the actual reading of papers at each session be two hours; that the Executive Committee solicit some papers of the length of *ten* minutes, it being understood that, as heretofore, no papers exceed *twenty* minutes.

On motion of Professor Frank Cole Babbitt,

Voted, That the Chairman appoint a Committee of three to prepare and submit designs for an appropriate seal of the Association at the next meeting.

The Chair has appointed as members of this Committee: Messrs. Frank Cole Babbitt, Gordon J. Laing, William A. Merrill.

THIRD JOINT SESSION WITH THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

Wednesday evening, December 30.

The Societies met in the usual place shortly after 8 P.M., the President of the Association in the chair.

The session was devoted to the reading of papers.

The next meeting of the Association will be held at Baltimore, Maryland, December 28–30, 1909.

[1] XXXIV, xix.

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III. ABSTRACTS

1. Polybius and the Gods, by Professor Hamilton Ford Allen, of the University of Illinois.

This paper is a part of a complete study of Polybius and the supernatural. In this paper an answer is sought to the question as to Polybius' belief in the gods of the Greek pantheon. Several have already written on the subject, but in view of the widely differing conclusions which have been reached there seems to be room for a new treatment. Polybius makes little mention of the gods and their influence on the course of history because of the pragmatic character of his work.

The core of the answer to the question proposed is found in vi, 56, 6 ff. Polybius believes that the accepted religion was invented for the purpose of restraining the ignorant multitude. The hold which this religion had on the Romans is shown, iii, 112, 6 f.; ix, 6, 3 f.; xi, 3, 5; xvi, 23, 5. Polybius praises the manner in which P. Scipio Africanus used religion for his own ends, x, 2, 11 ff.; iv, 11, 7; xiv, 12. Though Polybius cannot believe in the gods, he is glad to see this belief in others because of its practical benefits, iv, 73, 9 f.; v, 12, 106, 2. Polybius has only words of blame for those who defile, destroy, or in any way mistreat sacred places and objects, iv, 62, 67; v, 9–11, but the reason for this disapproval is not that such actions are impious, but because they are useless, v, 11, since they do not further the designs of the conqueror. They merely enrage the enemy against him.

Polybius does not believe in myths, and has refused to use them in his work, but would allow a moderate use of them "in so far as such tales preserve the respect of the multitude for religion," xvi, 12; xii, 4 d, 5. Polybius explains how such myths grew up by saying that "each of the gods is honored as the inventor of something useful to man," thus denying divinity to the popular gods, x, 10, 11; xxxiv, 2, 4, 3 f. When he records some sudden reverse of fortune or some seemingly miraculous escape from difficulty, Polybius sometimes so qualifies his statements as to free himself from seeming acquiescence in divine interference, xxxi, 11, 3 f.; xxxii, 27, 14. In other cases to be studied later this qualification is not so clear.

Since his work is throughout a search for the causes of events, Polybius does not easily give up the search, but when the causes are not easy to discover, he says that "in default of a better, we follow the prevailing opinions of the multitude, attempting by supplications and sacrifices to appease the wrath of heaven," xxxvii, 9; xxxiii, 17. But from reading his history we cannot think that Polybius ever used such means. Witness his fine scorn for Nicias, ix, 19, 1 f. Every mention of the gods is uncolored by definite qualities and attributes. The nearest we can come to an invocation of the gods to aid the author in his work is iii, 5, 7, and the only prayer of thanksgiving is xxxix, 19, 2. These are but conventional phrases, for the use of which Polybius may be excused.

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2. The Status of the *Oe*-diphthong in Plautus, by Professor Andrew R. Anderson, of Princeton University.

Oe-readings in Plautus may be divided into the following three classes: —

I. Those in which the *oe* was never reduced to *ū*, as *amoenus*, *coepi*, *poena*.

II. Those in which, in classical times, it was reduced to *ū*, as *mūnus*, *lūdo*, *cūro*, *ūtor*, etc., and perhaps *hūius*, *cūius*.

III. Those in which it is supposed to be a transcription of *υ*, as *lagoenam Curc.* 78, *Antamoenides*, *Poen.*, Cast of Characters, *et al.*

It is only classes II and III that require discussion.

Class II. The reduction of *oe* to *ū* is generally held to have taken place in the second century B.C. The purpose of this paper is to present the evidence for believing that this change was normally in pronunciation an accomplished fact as early as the earliest of Plautus' datable plays — the *Mil. Gl.*, 206 B.C. *Utier*, *CIL*, I, 33, 4, does not necessarily prove that this inscription is later than Plautus, as the orthography of the rest of it agrees very closely with what we know to have been the orthography of Plautus. So, too, perhaps the spelling PLOVS, cf. *CIL*, I, 196 (186 B.C.), which occurs there three times for **plois*, **ploes?* cf. PLOERVME, *CIL*, I, 32; *ploeres*, Cic. *de Leg.* iii, 3, 6; cf. *couro* for *coero*, *CIL*, I, 1419. Instances of assonance, like *Poenus Poenior*, *Poen.* 991, do not prove the pronunciation *poenio*, etc., as *Poenior* is only a coinage for the nonce. *Pseud.* 229, *Phoenicium poeniceo* does not prove that the regular pronunciation was *poeniceus*, *poenicus*, *poenio*, etc., as here *poeniceo* was probably a conscious archaism, used for closer similarity to *Phoenicium*; cf. *Capt.* 67,

domi *du*ellique *du*ellatores optumi.

While Plautus at times used archaisms for the purpose of getting closer assonance, it cannot be held as reasonable that he should anticipate what the phonetic development would be. So

Mil. 325 *lūdo luto*,
Bacch. 129 *Lȳde*, *lūdo*

point to the reduction in pronunciation of the original *oi*-diphthong in *lūdo* to *ū*. Cf. Osc. *luisarifs*.

Amph. 498 *ux*ore *ūss*uraria

seems to point toward a similar reduction of the original *oi* in *ūtor*, etc. In *Trin.* 181–2 *uss*urae . . . *russ*um are not as close together as might be desired.

Most. 209 *Cūr* obsecro non *cūr*em?

and *Poen.* 354 *Qūr* ego id *cūr*em? nam qui istaec magis meast *cūr*atio?

look toward the reduction of the original *oi* in *cūro*, etc. In some passages Plautus probably kept the diphthongal pronunciation for the sake of closer assonance and greater dignity; *e.g. Pseud.* 229, *Mil.* 228, *Bacch.* 926.

Class III. As the transcription and pronunciation of *υ* in the time of Plautus is represented by *u* and not by *oe*, — the latter representing *οι* or *φ*, — the forms *lagoenam* (λάγυνος) and *Antamoenides* (Ἀνταμυνίδης) should certainly not be spelled with *oe*, but probably with *u*.

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3. An Unpublished Portrait of Euripides, by Professor William N. Bates, of the University of Pennsylvania.

In the museum in Constantinople there is an unpublished relief representing Euripides seated in a chair, while the Stage (Σκηνή) personified presents him with a tragic mask. Behind the poet is a statue of the god Dionysus. Their names accompany the three figures. The face of Euripides appears older than in his best portraits. The relief probably dates from the first century A.D., but the place of its discovery is unknown.

4. An Ancient Schoolmaster's Message to Present-day Teachers, by Professor Charles E. Bennett, of Cornell University (President's Address).

So far as ancient literature makes an effective appeal to the modern mind, it is chiefly in the field which De Quincey characterizes as "the literature of power." Here the antique genius is supreme. It has been recognized as such for centuries, and *a priori* reasons can easily be given why it will continue to be recognized as such in the ages that are to come. Homer's majestic epics (*pace* Andrew Carnegie) not only have never been surpassed or even rivalled, but probably never can be; the same is true of the most perfect products of Greek tragedy; and almost the same of the best of Horace's lyric verse.

In the other field, however, — the field that De Quincey characterizes as "the literature of knowledge," — the Greek and Roman classics exercise a much less decisive and much narrower influence. I refer to such works as Aristotle's treatises on logic, ethics, psychology, and the natural sciences; such as Cicero's tractates on oratory, theology, rhetoric, and politics; to such works as Pliny's *Natural History*, or Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria;* further, to that vast body of works that are primarily historical or have historical bearings, like the correspondence of Cicero or Pliny. Except to the special student of the classics, most of these works make now but a relatively small appeal. Naturally enough, too, for their connection with the present is less obvious. Homer, Virgil, Aeschylus, Horace, are for all time; whereas ancient history and institutions are no longer to most persons a vital concern of the life and action of to-day. The multifarious problems of the modern world — social, governmental, religious, educational — all differ so profoundly from the problems of the ancients in the same fields, that we seldom think of invoking their testimony or of utilizing their experience. As a rule we are undoubtedly correct in this attitude. And yet, occasionally, even in the midst of our latter-day perplexities, we may with profit call these thinkers of the past into council. It is to a case of this kind that I venture to invite your attention now. The field is the perennially interesting one of education, and the witness is Quintilian.

The title of the *Institutio Oratoria*, as is well recognized, is somewhat narrower than its contents warrant. Technically it is on the training of the orator; but in reality it is much broader and deeper than its name implies. It penetrates to the root of many of the fundamental problems of education, problems that not merely confronted the Romans of Quintilian's day, but which confront us also, and will confront our children's children. It is this that bears the *Institutio Oratoria* far

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beyond the "bourne of time and place" and gives it permanent worth; and it is this fact that has made me venture to make its author the subject of these remarks. What I shall try to do is simply to enumerate some of the elementary truths of education as Quintilian himself has stated them, with true Roman wisdom and practical sense.

And first of all he emphasizes the importance of beginning aright and of employing only the best teachers from the very outset of education. "Would Philip of Macedon," he asks, "have wished Aristotle, the greatest teacher of the age, to teach Alexander, or would Aristotle have done it, if they had not both been persuaded that the first rudiments of instruction are best imparted by the most accomplished teacher?" How often have I thought of this when some mediocre Latin scholar has come to me at the end of the senior year and asked for a recommendation to teach elementary Latin, admitting defective knowledge and poor scholarship, but urging the low grade of work contemplated in justification of the application. Let me here record my conviction that a college graduate who has been a poor Latin scholar in college is not fit to teach even elementary Latin. In fact, such a person is conspicuously unfit for such labor, not so much from lack of large attainment as from lack of the spirit that a good scholar inevitably takes into the classroom and implants in his pupils. Only the lover of accuracy will beget a love of accuracy in his pupils, and without this there can be no scholarship — no really excellent instruction. If education is not to become a meaningless thing among us, it must be taken very seriously; and the prospective teacher must dedicate his whole energy to the profession he chooses. Teaching cannot safely be made a makeshift. Any such attitude involves disaster to the individual who risks the experiment, to the pupils under him, and, above all, to the community, and ultimately to the national life.

One of the burning problems in America in recent years has been the teaching of elementary Latin. Evidently the same problem was a living one at Rome in 90 A.D., and it is particularly interesting and, I think, instructive to note what Quintilian has to say on this subject. To those of us who have often deplored the failure to make a determined, decisive attack upon the paradigms and to master them thoroughly at the very outset of Latin study — to such it must cause no little pleasure to note the wise words of Quintilian on this very point. In the fourth chapter of his first book we read these words: —

"Let boys in the first place learn to decline nouns and conjugate verbs; for otherwise they will never come to an understanding of what is to follow; an admonition which it would be superfluous to give, were it not that most teachers, through ostentatious haste, begin where they ought to leave off; and while they wish to show off their pupils in matters of greater display, they retard their progress."

Has not Quintilian admirably diagnosed the difficulty that has beset us here in America in the last score of years? Have we not been attempting to make pupils understand continuous Latin before mastering the elements that compose it? Have we not been guilty of an ostentatious haste, beginning where we ought to end? I fear we have, and consequently I took no little satisfaction recently, when one of our leading educators singled out the passage I have just quoted and declared that it ought to be blazoned in every Latin classroom. Certainly, if to Roman boys such grammatical study was a necessary preliminary to an effective

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mastery of their native tongue, to modern boys the necessity is *a fortiori* vastly greater.

Another observation touches the character of commentaries on Greek and Latin classics studied in Roman schools. Roman education, as you all know, was roughly organized into three grades: elementary, grammatical or secondary, and advanced (the special training of the orator). Now the grammatical education was singularly like the classical courses of our secondary schools. A Greek or Latin author was made the basis of instruction, and was studied with the same minute care that is customary among us, the main difference being that among the Romans the commentary was given orally by the teacher, whereas to-day we have printed notes, often freely interspersed with pictures. Evidently many Roman teachers utilized the commentary more for the purposes of displaying their own erudition than for illuminating the contents of the author in hand. Quintilian protests vigorously against this practice, sagely observing that one of the greatest merits of the teacher is not to know everything, or if he does, to keep some of his erudition in reserve. I fancy we are not altogether free from this same fault. Too often the editors of our classical texts appear to have in mind not the large constituency of students who are to use their books, but rather the minute fraction of experts who may review them. Hence we are treated not infrequently to a display of useless learning, wise remarks about manuscripts, the Mediceus, Venetus A, or the Neapolitanus, along with erudite references to German periodicals, Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, Bezzenberger's *Beiträge*, or the latest Teutonic *Schulprogramm*. These things are right enough in their place, but I, for one, cannot feel that a secondary school text or even the average college text is the place for them. The best scholarship, I believe, will agree with Quintilian that there are many things which the editor ought not to know (in the sense of not exhibiting his information), and will follow the wise reserve recommended by him.

Particularly gratifying is Quintilian's plea for a liberal education. To his mind clearly, true education demands that the student should aim to realize himself and to become a well-rounded man. Nor must education be conducted with reference to the eventual financial return it may bring in. "I would not wish to have," he declares, "even as a reader of this work, a man who would compute what returns his studies bring in. But he who shall have conceived, as with a divine power of imagination, the very idea of genuine oratory, and who shall keep before his eyes true eloquence, the 'queen of the world,' as an eminent poet calls her, and who shall seek his gain, not from the pay that he receives for his pleadings, but from his own mind and from contemplation and knowledge — a gain that is enduring and independent of fortune — such a man will easily prevail on himself to devote to study the time which others spend at shows, at dice, or in idle talk, to say nothing of sleep. And how much more pleasure will he secure from such pursuits than from unintellectual gratifications! For Divine Providence has ordained that the more honorable occupations are also the most pleasing." Could one find anywhere a loftier idealism? I doubt it.

Nor to Quintilian's mind is education solely for the individual. To him it is not merely a means of self-realization. Its ultimate purpose is much higher and nobler. With a true Roman sense of the majesty and supremacy of the state, he emphasizes the final function of education — the making of useful citizens, who

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shall conserve and propagate the inheritance of the fathers. Do we to-day, I wonder, always see as clearly and as steadily the connection between education and the state?

It is extremely interesting also to note the emphasis which Quintilian lays on early home influences. He deplores the effect of too much parental indulgence, charging Roman fathers and mothers with themselves corrupting the characters of their children. "We enervate their very infancy with luxuries," he declares. "Our excessive fondness weakens all their powers, both of mind and body. We form their palates before we form their speech. They grow up in sedan-chairs; if they touch the ground, they hang by the hands of attendants supporting them on either side. We even encourage their saucy utterances by bestowing a smile and a kiss." A recent writer has suggested that here in America there may just possibly be traces of a similar state of affairs, which he characterizes as "a case of too much parent." But I have already drawn so many parallels between ancient and modern life that I hesitate to dwell at length upon another.

I cannot conclude without mentioning the superb grace and poise, as well as the cogency and dignity, with which Quintilian's sentiments and convictions are expressed. To those who would canonize Cicero as the one real writer of Latin prose, Quintilian, despite his obvious and professed following of that master, must seem infected with decided symptoms of the "Decline." We find in him new words, new meanings of old words, new syntactical constructions, new phrases, to say nothing of other novelties. Yet these, after all, are very slight things. Like every other writer of every age and every country, Quintilian as a stylist must stand or fall, not according to his conformity, or lack of conformity, to the vocabulary, syntax, and sentence-structure of bygone generations, but solely as he says what he says with clearness, force, and grace. Judged by this standard, he has few peers in all Roman literature. His work throughout is pervaded with a lofty earnestness. Nor does he lose himself in mere abstract analysis. He abounds in copious illustrations, and is especially happy in the freshness and aptness with which he undertakes to enforce some vital truth. Take this, for instance, where he is speaking of certain arid treatises on oratory: —

"These break and cut down whatever is noble in eloquence; they drink up, so to speak, all the blood of thought and lay bare the bones, which, while they ought to exist and to be united by their ligaments, should nevertheless be covered with flesh."

Speaking of memory, he says: —

"We are most tenacious of what we have imbibed in our early years, as the flavor with which you scent vessels when new remains in them; nor can the colors of wool which has lost its whiteness be effaced."

Sometimes the comparisons are quaint and homely, as where he says: —

"For as narrow-necked vessels reject a great quantity of the liquid that is poured upon them, but are filled by that which flows or is poured into them by degrees, so it is for us to ascertain how much the mind of boys can receive, since what is too much for their grasp of intellect will not enter their minds, as not being sufficiently expanded to receive it."

Now and again there are pregnant embodiments of truth in quasi-proverbial form, as where he says (x, 3, 4), *Nihil enim natura voluit magnum effici cito praeposuitque pulcherrimo cuique operi difficultatem*, "Nature will have nothing

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accomplished quickly; difficulty lies in the path of every noble achievement." Or, again, when he says, "Let the motto be: 'First, flawless accuracy; then flawless speed.'"

There are touches of pathos, too. Few things in literature are finer and tenderer than the preface to the sixth book, in which Quintilian laments the loss of the faithful wife and the two promising boys who had been the solace of his existence, a passage too long to quote and which will not bear dismemberment.

You have borne patiently with me in these observations on the old Roman schoolmaster. With me, I trust, you recognize the greatness of the man and the value of his contribution to educational thought. It is refreshing to find the eternal verities of education stated and emphasized by him as admirably as has ever been done. It is a pleasure to contemplate the thorough idealism of the man himself. Born and living in an age when luxury was rife and when material standards were claiming, as never before in Roman history, the adoration of men, Quintilian boldly proclaims the value of education for its own sake and for the sake of the state, and protests against making it merely the means of sordid worldly advantage. "Get the best," he tells us; "Begin right;" "Be careful in details;" "Have respect for every pupil;" "Blame yourself as a teacher, if your pupils fail." Then his sturdy common sense appeals to us, as he brushes aside the details of trivial formalities, or as he utters his scorn of those with whom teaching becomes merely a vanity — an opportunity for the display of erudition. In a word, he interprets teaching in the broadest and humanest fashion. He has a noble reverence for the human spirit, and would have the teacher share and apply this same reverence in the actual work of instruction.

It was in the winter of 1415–16 that Poggio Bracciolini discovered at St. Gall, in Switzerland, the first complete manuscript of Quintilian's famous *Institutio*. Till then only fragments of the work had been known. Poggio and his fellow-humanists, we are told, greeted the new discovery with the greatest enthusiasm; and we may well recognize that they had full reason for so doing, for the world cannot afford to lose the utterances of those simple, sincere souls whose vision of truth is clear and steady, and whose hope and faith are fixed on what is spiritual and enduring.

This address has appeared in full in the *Classical Journal*, IV, 149–164.

5. A Classification according to the Subject-matter of the Comparisons and Illustrations in the Meditations of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, by Professor Curtis C. Bushnell, of Syracuse University.

Some inferences from this material have been already published in the *Proceedings* for December, 1905, pp. xxix–xxx. These need not be repeated here.

For the sake of brevity, the cases are cited merely by the book and chapter of their occurrence. They will be readily found on reference to the text.

a. Comparisons concerned with the Conceptions of Geometry:

Angle: 3, 10; 4, 3; 6, 36; 8, 21. Point: 2, 17; 4, 3; 6, 36; 8, 21.

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b. Comparisons concerned with Elemental Nature:

Bubble: 8, 20. Calm: 7, 29. Clear Weather: 2, 4; 6, 30; 8, 28. Extinguishing: 3, 1; 4, 19; 5, 33; 6, 15; 7, 2, 24, 32; 8, 25; 9, 7. Filth, Smoke, and Other Symbols of Worthlessness: 2, 17; 3, 3; 5, 10; 6, 36 (cf. 12, 32); 7, 47; 8, 37; 10, 31. Fire: 4, 1; 10, 31. Flowing: 2, 3; 2, 4 (cf. 12, 2); 2, 17 (two); 4, 43; 5, 10; 5, 23; 6, 15; 7, 19; 12, 26. Fountain-head: 4, 33; 6, 36; 7, 59, 62; 8, 23, 51; 9, 39. Gold, Emerald: 7, 15. Light: 4, 33; 8, 20, 57; 12, 15, 30. Promontory: 4, 49; 12, 22. Sand: 7, 34 (cf. 7, 23). Stone: 8, 46 (cf. 8, 20). Torrent: 7, 19; 9, 29 (cf. "Flowing"). Wave: 9. 28. Well-flowing: 2, 5; 5, 9, 34; 10, 6.

c. Comparisons concerned with Vegetable Life:

Bark: 12, 2, 8. Figs: 3, 2. Flowret: 4, 20. Fruit: 4, 23; 5, 6; 6, 30; 9, 10; 11. 1. Leaves: 8, 7; 10, 34. Operations of Plant Life: 4, 6, 44, 48; 8, 15; 11, 33; 12, 16. Reaping: 11, 6, 34. Seed: 4, 36; 10, 17. Severed Branch: 11, 8 (cf. 4, 29; 8, 34; 9, 9, 23). Shrub: 4, 20.

d. Comparisons concerned with Animal Life:

3, 2, 3; 4, 16, 28; 5, 6, 33; 6, 15, 54; 7, 3; 8, 46; 9, 37, 39; 10, 10; 11, 15, 18 (cf. *Il.* 2, 480 ff.; 3, 196 ff.; 13, 492), 22; 12, 16.

e. Comparisons concerned with Human Life:

Religious and Mythological: 3, 4, 7; 4, 5, 15, 47; 10, 8, 28.

Medical and Pathological: 2, 13; 3, 8, 13; 5, 9; 6, 57; 9, 2; 2, 16 (inculcating contentment: cf. 4, 29; 5, 8; 6, 55; 8, 15, 34).

Physiological: 2, 1 (cf. 7, 13); 3, 15; 4, 36 (cf. 9, 3); 6, 33; 8, 54; 10, 31.

Athletic and Gladiatorial: 3, 4 (cf. 6, 30); 4, 18; 6, 20, 30, 46; 7, 61; 10, 8, 11; 12, 9 (cf. 3, 13).

Spectacular: 3, 7; 7, 3; 12, 2. Desires control as Strings the Puppet: 2, 2; 3, 16; 6, 16, 28; 7, 3, 29; 10, 38; 12, 19. Life like a Play: 3, 8; 7, 3; 11, 6; 12, 36.

Military: 2, 17 (cf. "the battle of life"); 3, 16; 7, 7; 8, 48. Especially the "Good Soldier" (cf. 2 *Tim.* 2, 3), as symbolizing Loyalty to Right: 3, 5, 6; 5, 27; 7, 45; 11, 9, 13, 20.

Nautical: 6, 55; 7, 51; 8, 15; 12, 14 (cf. "sea of troubles," *Ham.* III, 1 and Aesch. *Pers.* 599, Soph. *O. T.* 1527); 12, 22.

Of Various Arts: 3, 2, 4 (βεβαμμένον, cf. 5, 16; 6, 30); 5, 8; 6, 35; 7, 23, 51, 61; 8, 50. The Web of Creation and Circumstance: 2, 3; 3, 4, 11, 16; 4, 26, 34, 40; 5, 8; 7, 57; 10, 5.

Political: 4, 29; 5, 31. The World a City: 3, 11; 4, 3, 4, 23; 6, 44; 9, 23; 12, 36.

Of Arrival, Departure, Travel. Birth an Arrival: 6, 56. Death a Departure: 2, 11; 3, 7; 5, 29; 6, 56; 8, 25, 47; 9, 2; 10, 8; 12, 1, 36. Life a Journey: 3, 3; 5, 34; 9, 30. Death the Journey's End: 3, 3. A Course of Action a Path: 3, 16; 5, 3, 4, 10, 14, 20; 6, 17, 22; 7, 55; 8, 7; 9, 1; 10, 11. The Stranger: 2, 17; 4, 29; 12, 13. Philosophy an Escort: 2, 17.

Of Family and Household Relations: 6, 12; 8, 3; 10, 25. Child Life: 2, 12; 4, 28, 46; 5, 33, 36; 12, 16.

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Of the View from Above: 7, 48; 9, 30; 10, 15.

Of Sleep and Dreams: 2, 17; 4, 46; 6, 31.

(Hereafter, the statement being more condensed, to facilitate reference the line of the page of the Stich text is added to book and chapter.)

Scattering: 2, 4, 16; 2, 12, 2; 3, 16, 8; 4, 27, 11 (cf. 6, 10, 17; 9, 39, 6); 4, 41, 11; 5, 6, 4; 5, 9, 5; 5, 29, 17 ff.; 6, 11, 3; 6, 13, 5; 6, 26, 13 ff.; 6, 31 11 ff.; 8, 24, 1 ff.; 11, 15, 17 ff.; 12, 15, 7 ff.

f. Otherwise Unclassified: 2, 7, 21 (cf. 3, 4, 1; 4, 22, 3), 2, 7, 23 (cf. 2, 16, 10; 7, 4, 20; 11, 6, 20 ff.); 2, 9, 10 (cf. 3, 9, 6; 3, 12, 20; 3, 16, 9; 5, 3, 21 ff.; 7, 31, 23; 8, 16, 11; 9, 1, 21; 10, 11, 18 ff.; 10, 28, 15 ff.; 12, 27, 24); 4, 18, 1 (cf. 4, 28, 16); 7, 10, 8 ff.; 7, 29, 13 (cf. 8, 47, 1; 9, 7, 5; 10, 9, 16); 7, 49, 20 ff.; 7, 56, 19 ff.; 8, 41, 23.

6. The Metaphorical Use of *Pronuba*, by Professor Harold L. Cleasby, Syracuse University.

The *pronuba* was the matron who acted as mistress of ceremonies at a Roman wedding; she helped the bride with her toilet, she presided over the *dextrarum iunctio*, she prepared the *lectus genialis*, and to this, after all the other rites had been performed, she escorted the bride. The poets of the Empire not infrequently employ the word figuratively, and in this paper an attempt is made to classify the forms in which the metaphor appears, and to show how they are related to one another.

In the first place, it seems certain that the epithet *pronuba* as applied to Juno is not a cult-name, but merely a poetic device (see Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, p. 119). Although Servius, in his note to *Aeneid* iv, 59 says that Varro had already referred to the Juno who presided over marriage as *Iuno Pronuba*, the real creator of the image is Virgil in *Aeneid* iv, 166–168. From him all the later poets directly or indirectly borrowed the metaphor, which tended to lose its vividness and freshness as time went on. To Ovid belongs the credit of originating the *Furia Pronuba*, to Seneca that of introducing a mortal woman, whose influence is similar to that of a Fury, as a kind of *Furia Pronuba*. Helen, the cause of so much calamity, is, in the *Troades*, represented as the *pronuba* of unfortunate Polyxena, who is condemned to wed the spirit of Achilles by suffering death at his tomb. Moreover, Seneca uses *pronuba* of an inanimate object, *pronuba pinus* (*Medea*, 37 f.), a phrase which occurs also in the *Ciris*. A pleasing contrast to Ovid's gloomy *Furia Pronuba* is presented by the *Venus Pronuba* of Statius in his *Epithalamium in Stellam et Violentillam* (*Silvae*, i, 2, 11 f.). In prose both Apuleius and Tertullian make use of the metaphor of the *pronuba*. The paper concluded with an examination of the various forms of the figure which are met with in the writings of the poet Claudian.

7. The Pre-acute, Acute, Grave, and Zero Stress in Latin Speech and Rhythm, by Professor Thomas Fitz-Hugh, of the University of Virginia.

In my last paper before the Association on "Rhythmical Alternation and Coincidence of Accent and Ictus in Latin Rhythmic Art," presented at the Chicago

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meeting on December 30, 1907, I showed that Latin speech and consequently Latin verse are characterized by a twofold rhythm of acute and grave stress, the former of which is violated by a duplication of the latter tone, G+G, and the latter by the intrusion of the toneless arsis G° in place of the sustained arsis in the rhythmical series. Accordingly, in the Vergilian line *Ostia dives opum studiisque asperrima belli*, no grave monosyllable G could take the place of *op-* (A) or *studi-* (A′) after *dives* (A–G) and *opum* (A–G) respectively, without reversing the acute-grave rhythm into a grave-acute one. Similarly, no toneless arsis (G°) as in *Ostia* (A–G°–G) and *-perrima* (A–G°–G) can enter the sustained rhythm outside the first foot unless preceded by the pre-acute tone *as-* (A′). Thus the technique of Latin rhythmic art centres about the two problems of safeguarding the A+G+G and the G+A+G° tonic sequences, each of which would otherwise reverse the rhythm of the acute tone (A′ and A): the A+G+G problem was artistically solved in Saturnian times, the G+A+G° problem was reserved for the master-hand of Vergil,

A–G°–G A–G A–G
A′–A A′–A–G°–G A–G

O degli altri poeti onore e lume!

The present investigation, submitted at the Toronto meeting on December 30, 1908, establishes two new laws of Latin accent and rhythm in place of two old ones: I. The law of the initial acute stress and graduated ictual fall (Ictuum Descensio), in place of the Paenultima law of Hellenizing grammar. II. The law of the acute stress in thesis and the sustained tone (acute or grave stress) in arsis (Ictuum Sublatio), in place of the Quantitative doctrine of Hellenizing metric, — in both cases, a Latin law of tone in place of a Greek law of time.

Careful examination of the succession of the word-feet in Latin verse reveals unmistakably the following stress-gradations in Latin speech: 1°. The pre-acute stress A′; *e.g.* triumpe. 2°. The acute stress A; *e.g.* virum. 3°. The grave stress G; *e.g.* que, ab, ad. 4°. The grave stressless tone G°; *e.g.* litora. The evidence shows conclusively that the acute stress (A′ and A) covers a syllabic area of a long or two shorts (whence the phenomenon of the so-called Iambic law), whereas the grave stress involves but a single syllable, be it short or long: there is no further quantitative implication in the Latin accentual system. Hellenizing grammar seems to have been deaf, not alone to the initial pre-acute dominant tone A′ of Latin speech, but also to the final grave stress G, both of which are inescapably postulated by the phenomena of Latin verse. Thus philology was betrayed into the hopeless labyrinth of quantitative pragmatism, which has celebrated its barren orgies for two millenniums. These four stress-gradations, A′, A, G, G°, — pre-acute, acute, grave stress, grave stressless tone, — make up the gamut of the Latin tones. They are those *modi Italici* or *numeri Italici*, *Italic measures* or *Italic numbers*, which may prove to be common to Italic and Celtic stocks, and whose tonic heights must be scaled (*scandere*) in all Latin verse. Hellenizing quantity was merely an irrelevant and hampering incident in the unbroken life of Latin accentuo-ictual rhythm.

A′ A G
⏑ — ⏑

A G
⏑ —

G G G
⏑ — —

A G°G
— ⏑ ⏑

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I propose to outline in bold strokes the evolution of Latin accentual or stress rhythm. We shall find the steps of that evolution clearly imbedded in the strata of tradition. In prehistoric times a purely accentual rhythm of the initial tone (A′ and A), it rapidly introduced and perfected the technique of the grave and toneless arsis (G and G°), until it attained in the Augustan era the perfect tonic harmony and variety of the Vergilian hexameter, in which A′, A, G, and G° are artistically coördinated under the rhythmopoeic drum-beat of the sacred tripudium, the immemorial leap-step of Mars and the tonic modulator of all Latin rhythm in prose and verse (A′–A–G or A′–A–G°–G). I have shown in my *Carmen Arvale* (Anderson Brothers, 1908) that this earliest monument of Latin literature is a cryptograph of the sacred spear-cult and tripudium-ritual of the national god of the Italic stocks. It is a glorification not only of the sacred spear but also of the rhythm of the spear-cast, out of which by simple duplication it exhibits the evolution of every phase of pre-Saturnian rhythm, monopody, dipody,

A′ A G
⏑ — ⏑

tetrapody, octapody: triumpe = 2+2+1. By catalexis in syllabam we have A′–A,

A′ A
⏑⏑ —

fere Mars, in dissyllabum A′, / A′ En. These are the normal feet of pre-Saturnian rhythm: all Latin rhythm belongs to the γένος διπλάσιον class, to use the nomenclature of quantitative metric. We shall accordingly find that the tripudium in its several forms furnishes the key to prehistoric and historic verse and prose rhythm:

A′ A G
⏑ — ⏑

triumpe = monopody { A′–A–G = dipody { A′ | A–G = tetrapody { A′ ‖ A | G. It
2 – 2 – 1 | 2 2–1 | 2 2 1

is conspicuous as a monopody in the more ancient and primitive tradition:

Carmen Arv. 2: A–G | A–G | A–G | A–G
— ⏑ | ⏑ — | ⏑ — | — —
Neve | luem | ruem | Marmar

A–G | A′–A–G°–G | A′ | A–G
⏑ — | — — ⏑ ⏑ | — | — —
Sinas | incurrere | in | pleoris

Vaticinium ap. Liv. v, 16, 8: A′–A–G | A′ | A′–A–G
— — ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ | — — —
Romane | aquam | Al banam

A–G | A–G | A–G°–A–G
⏑ — | ⏑ — | — ⏑ | — —
Cave | lacu | contin | eri

Appius Claudius *ap.* Prisc. viii, 4, 18:

A′–A–G | A′–A | A′– | A–G
⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ | — — | — | — —
Inimicus | si es | com | mentus

A′ | A–G | A–G
— | ⏑ — | — | —
nec | libens | ae | que

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Titulus Coquorum, *CIL*, XI, 3078:

A′–A–G | A′ A | A′–A–G
— ⏑ ⏑ — | ⏑ — | — | — —
Gonlegium | quod est | a|ciptum

A′–A–G | A′–A–G
— | — — | ⏑ | — —
ae|tatei | ag|endai

A′–A–G | A′–A–G | A′–A–G
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | — — — | ⏑ | — —
Opiparum | ad veitam | quo|lundam

A′–A–G | A–G
— | — ⏑ | ⏑ | —
fes|tosque | di|es

A′ | A–G | A′–A–G°–G
— | ⏑ — | — | — ⏑ —
Quei | soueis | ar|gutieis

A′–A–G | A′–A–G
⏑ — ⏑ | — | — —
o|pidque | Vol|gani

A′ – A–G | A′–A–G°–G
— | ⏑ ⏑ — | — | — ⏑ —
Gon|decorant | sai|pissume

A′–A–G°–G | A′–A–G
— | — ⏑ ⏑ | — | — ⏑
com|vivia | loi|dosque

The muse of the cooks is characteristically tripudic.

Titulus Scipionum, *CIL*, I, 33:

A′ A–G | A′–A–G | A′–A–G
— ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | — — — | ⏑ | — —
Quei apice | insigne | Di|alis

A–G°–G | A′–A–G
flami|nis | ges|istei

A′ | A′–A–G | A′ | A–G
— | — — — | ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ | — —
Mors | perfecit | tua ut | essent

A–G°–G | A–G
— ⏑ | ⏑ | ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑
omni|a | brevi|a

A′ | A′–A–G | A′ A–G
— | — — ⏑ | ⏑ | — —
Ne | quairatis | ho|nore

Ibid., *CIL*, I, 34:

A′ | A–G G | A′ A–G
— | ⏑ — — | — | — —
quei | minus sit | man|datus

Titulus Mummii, *CIL*, I, 541:

A–G | A′–A–G | A–G°–A–G
— | — ⏑ ⏑ — | — ⏑ ⏑ | — ⏑
Ductu | auspicio | imperi|oque

A–G | A′–A–G | A–G
— ⏑ | ⏑ — — | — | —
eius | Achaia | ca|pta

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Accordingly, we may characterize pre-Saturnian art as the art of the tripudium used as monopody or as dipody. Judging from our literary tradition, Saturnian art discarded the monopodic tripudium, using it only as procatalectic dipody to modulate the two cola of the Saturnian:

Liv. Andron. 1:

A–G	A–G	A′–A–G	
◡ —	◡ —	◡	— ◡
Virum	mihi	Ca	mena
		A–G°–G	A′–A–G
		— ◡ ◡	— — —
		inse ce	ver sutum

Note that the sustained G arsis characterizes the first colon, the unsustained G° arsis, shut in between two tripudia, the second. So classic art, which merely loosened up the rigid diaeresis and monotonous close of Saturnian:

Verg. *Aen.* i, 33:

A–G	A–G	A–G	A′–A–G	A–G°–G	A–G
— —	— ◡	◡ —	— — —	— ◡ ◡	— —
Tantae	molis	erat	Ro manam	condere	gentem.

Thus the sacred tripudium, though lost to the ear of Hellenizing pragmatism, asserts to the last its rhythmopoeic supremacy: the Latin Muse is the Muse of the procatalectic foot, the sacred rhythm of the leap-step of Mars, the rhythm of the accentual thesis and the sustained arsis. A–G–G (primus ab, Eurus ad) must fall under the drum-beat of the initial tone in the first foot of the hexameter, and so become A′ A–G°–G (Eurus ad), or follow in the train of the tripudium as A′–A–G°–G (qui primus ab), which means, from the standpoint of the G° arsis, that its only artistic position in the hexameter is under the drum-beat of the initial accent of the rhythmic series or following that of the tripudium: —

Verg. *Aen.* i, 14:

A′ A–G°–G	A–G	A–G	A′–A	A′–A–G°–G A–G
— ◡ ◡	— ◡ ◡	—,	◡ ◡ —	— — ◡ ◡ — —
Ostia	dives	opum studiisque		asperrima belli.

Ibid. ix, 111:

A′ G° A–G G	A′–A′–G	A G	A′	A–G°–G	A–G
— ◡ ◡	— — —	—, —	—	— — ◡ ◡	— —
Visus ab	Aurora	caelum		transcurrere	nimbus.

Ovid, *Met.* i, 61:

A′ G° A–G	G	A′–A–G	A′	A–G°–G	A–G	A′	A–G
— ◡ ◡	— —	—,	◡ ◡	— ◡ ◡	— ◡	◡	— —
Eurus ad auroram Nabataeaque regna recessit.							

Accordingly, two new laws of accent and rhythm emerge in clear view as substitutes for two venerable blunders of Hellenizing grammar: I. Latin accent is an acute initial stress descending rhythmically to a grave final stress (Ictuum Descensio). II. Latin rhythm is an acute thesis descending at liberty to a grave stress in arsis, but not to a toneless arsis except after the redoubled initial tone of the rhythm, or following the double accent of the tripudium (Ictuum Sublatio).

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Thus we have brushed aside the hollow pragmatism of Hellenizing phonetics and Hellenizing metric, whose latest and, let us hope, final orgy was solemnized in Leo's *Saturnischer Vers*, and we have won the vision of the deathless form and feature of the Italic Muse. That vision may sear the eyeballs of philological cliquism and chill the shoulders of editorial subserviency, but it will be full of sweetness and light to the sincere and competent scholar, who is interested in the quest of truth and indifferent to the ban of the clique: —

Er gehört zu keiner Innung — bleibt Liebhaber bis ans Ende.

It means the final bankruptcy of Hellenizing pragmatism, with its belabored "problems" of "caesura," "coincidence of accent and ictus," "accentually-constructed fourth and fifth feet," its "dactyls," "spondees," "trochees," "iambs," and the rest, — and when the piled-up rubbish ceases to obstruct the view, Athens and Alexandria will dwindle insignificantly on the horizon. It means the vivifying rediscovery and reconstitution of the sciences of Italico-Romanic phonology, morphology, and rhythmic art.

The rhythm of Latin speech and verse is the rhythm of the martial leap-step of the spear-god; hence the hoary sacredness of the tripudium: Paulus ex Festo, 244, 11 puls potissimum datur in auspiciis quia ex ea necesse est aliquid decidere quod tripudium faceret; Servius, Verg. *Ecl.* 8, 30 dicitur etiam ideo a novo marito nuces spargi debere quod proiectae in terram tripudium sollistimum faciant, quod auspicium ad rem agendam optimum est. It is the instinctive

A′–A–G
⏑ — —

Roman mood of exalted and forceful expression in prose and verse: Senatus

A′–A–G A′–A–G A′–A–G°–G A′–A–G A–G A′–A–G A′–A–G
⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑

populusque Romanus Quiritium; Quousque tandem abutere Catilina

A′–A–G°–G A–G A′–A–G A′–A A–G A′–A–G°–G
⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — — — — — ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ —

patientia nostra; Exegi monumentum aere perennius. Its rhythmopoeic supremacy is due to its double accentual thesis, enabling it to function rhythmically, either as hypercatalectic monopody or as procatalectic dipody. It thus became the organic source and historic arbiter of the Latin Muse, and probably also of her Osco-Umbrian sister; cf. *Prolegom. Ital.-Romanic Rhythm*, p. 14 f. In the heyday of Saturnian art the Muse of the procatalectic dipody became enamored of the Delphic god, and Ennius twined the silver thread of quantity with the native gold of tone. The bard of Mantua,

Wielder of the stateliest measure ever moulded by the lips of man,

crowned her with a deathless wreath of song, blending the stirring drum-beat of the tripudium with the measured flow of rhythmic structure. Quantitative rhythm was merely a measured mode of the unchanged accentuo-ictual rhythm of Latin speech and verse, and not an organic modification of its life; and when the silver cord was loosed the imperishable gold endured in the tonic rhythm of the Romanic idioms.

Thus accent is the life and music of classic, as of all, speech and rhythm. To ignore and violate it upon principle and not upon constraint is barbarity and not scholarship, and to make a virtue of the practice is a brutal vandalism that merits

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the millstone and the depths of practical and theoretical reprobation. To ignore upon principle and not upon constraint the sweet, flutelike modulations of the Greek accent in rendering and teaching Greek verse is to mar upon principle the natural life of Hellenic speech and to forfeit the finer charm of quantitative rhythm, substituting wooden mechanism for life and cheap handicraft for beauty, while babbling upon principle the sacred things of the Muses withal. It may not be given to every one adequately to recall the silenced music, but every scholar of feeling and insight knows that ample achievement crowns loving effort. Articulatory infirmity and aesthetic obtuseness furnish fair occasion for honest confession, not scientific ground for pedagogical propagandism and charlatanry; cf. Quint. *Inst. Or.* xii, 10, 33.

To ignore the acutely graduated stress of the Latin accent as it rhythmically alternates and coincides with ictus, is not only to violate the sanctity of natural speech, but to blunder irredeemably in rhythmic interpretation, missing altogether the secret of Saturnian art, and substituting for the accentuo-ictual rhythm of classic verse a humdrum rhythm of lifeless structure with its monotonous thump, oblivious to the very essence of Latin rhythmic art, which, like the noble speech that bore it, has always been characterized by a rhythm of accent contrasted and harmonized with a rhythm of ictus by the rhythmopoeic mediation of the bi-accentual tripudium.

8. Certain Numerals in the Greek Dramatic Hypotheses, by Professor Roy C. Flickinger, of Northwestern University.

It is well known that the ancients designated the productions of the great Greek dramatists by numbers. The remains of this system, however, are scanty, being confined to the following items: arg. Soph. *Antigone:* λέλεκται δὲ τὸ δρᾶμα τοῦτο τριακοστὸν δεύτερον; arg. Eurip. *Alcestis:* τὸ δρᾶμα ἐποιήθη $\overline{\iota\zeta}$; arg. I, Arist. *Aves:* ἔστι δὲ λε'; and Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, IV, p. 71: Διονυσ[αλεξανδρος

$\overline{\eta}$

Κρατ[ινου.

Inasmuch as these numerals have become known one at a time, discussion of the subject has been perennial but cannot be said to have yielded a satisfactory conclusion.

The last instance, which has only recently been published, furnishes a clue to the following results: If we follow Dindorf in reading ιε' for λε' in arg. *Aves*, the numbers are capable of a uniform interpretation. They were a library device and were assigned the plays represented in the Alexandrian collection according to the date of their production. A second version of a play, if only published and not actually produced, was given a number immediately following that of the first version — a practice which explains the error of Anonymous arg. v. *Nubes* concerning the second *Clouds*. At least nineteen plays of Euripides preceded the *Alcestis*. Cratinus' *Dionysalexandros* was probably brought out in 445 B.C. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 430, 15, and Photius, p. 426, 12, have probably been erroneously cited in this connection, but in any case would readily accommodate themselves to the above explanation.

The paper will be published in *Classical Philology*.

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9. A Point in the Plot of *Oedipus Tyrannus*, by Professor Thomas D. Goodell, Yale University.

The point in question concerns a minor character, the herdsman of Laios. The care with which every step of his activity is accounted for illustrates the dramatic habit of Sophokles; and some natural queries find their answer in one circumstance that I have not seen noted.

When the slave saw Oedipus in authority in place of Laios, he besought Iokaste to send him to keep the flocks, that he might be far removed from all sight of the city (758 ff.). To Iokaste the reasons given were adequate; they seemed to confirm his reputation for fidelity and affection toward his master. But was there something more? One thing more is evident. He could not but recognize in Oedipus the slayer of his predecessor. The horror of that circumstance alone was enough; the risk of being involved in the revelation of that situation would alone make him eager to get away. But are we to think of him as alredy aware of the whole truth — that Oedipus was Iokaste's son, that the oracles were fulfilled, and as a result of the herdsman's own disobedience in leaving the child alive? But how could the slave alredy know all this? On the other hand, how could he learn it afterward, between this period and the final scene, when he evidently does know all? For when Oedipus questions him, he doesn't remember the Corinthian. The latter admits this is no great wonder, it was so long ago. But when we learn that for three successiv summers they were near each other for six months, and recal the loneliness of the shepherd life, and remember the important transaction about the exposed prince, it becomes clear that such forgetting was impossible. When the Corinthian is eager to reveal the identity of that babe and Oedipus, the slave tries to stop him with blows. Forced to speak, he still delays to the utmost at every step. Clearly, he alredy knew the whole situation when he begged Iokaste to send him back to his flocks.

We now see why the poet lays such stress on the three whole periods of six months each (1136 f.). The *Corinthian's* motiv for this stress is plain; he wishes to quicken the slow recollection of the slave. Thereby the *dramatist* makes us see that the failure of memory is wilful, and directs attention to the number three. Reflection shows that three periods are essential. It would be inconsistent with the slave's character as peculiarly trustworthy, one to whom so delicate business might naturally be assigned, to suppose that he would in the first season giv over to this forener the child he was directed to leave to die. This must hav been done in the second season, when he had found the Corinthian discreet and trusty. And at the end of the summer, els Polybos and Merope could not hav made the child appear their own. When first shown as their son, the babe must hav been young enough to pass for newborn. That the Corinthian was discreet and trusty his silence for so many years demonstrates; the slave had made no mistake there. Then a third season's meeting is necessary, and explains everything. At the beginning of the third summer, when the slave askt about the child, the Corinthian could say: "That affair has come out finely. The childless Polybos and Merope were rejoiced at the opportunity. I did it so secretly that no one knew of it but the king and queen, with perhaps a trusty servant or two. They so managed that all Corinth supposes the child is theirs. It was a good deed all around. We saved the life of the child — who was a fine helthy boy,

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since piercing his ankles and the roughness of the first few days here in the mountains didn't impair his vitality. We brought happiness to a childless royal pair and gave Corinth a promising future king."

Promoted to an easier service, the slave witnest the affray. On his return to Thebes (the chronological difficulty raised here by Earle is imaginary) it was impossible for him to tell the simple truth about the affair. Imagin his saying, "One lone-girded man, armed with a staff, fell upon us, killed the king and all the others, and I alone am escaped to tell the tale." The incredible story would hav endangered the slave himself, tho as told by Oedipus it contains no improbability. Oedipus had been unusually vigorous from his birth; the blow happened to fall on a fatal spot; the deth of the king dazed the others and made them useless. Accustomed to deference, Oedipus was just then in no mood to be trifled with, abandoning a throne, as he was, for exile. His temper, which Laios' action showed was honestly inherited, was thoroly roused and made him all the stronger in his fight with the cowed attendants. But the slave felt driven to the more plausible story of a robber band, which delayed discovery on the part of Oedipus. Then at Thebes, when it was proposed to make their benefactor king, we cannot imagin this business carried thru without inquiry into his antecedents. Corinth and Thebes were in communication, of course. Oedipus was shown to be a prince; his supposed Corinthian blood was no more a bar to marriage with Iokaste than Merope's Dorian birth had been a bar to her marriage with Polybos of Corinth. There was no known obstacle to the plan which was adopted, of making him and Iokaste joint king and queen (579) — as were William and Mary of England. The only man who knew of an obstacle was the slave of Laios. To him the whole situation became clear the moment he learned that Oedipus was the son of Polybos. From that moment his life was dominated by the fear that he might become the instrument of revealing the facts, to the destruction of Oedipus, Iokaste, and himself. When suddenly summoned to the palace, he could not but fear that the day of doom had come. The sight of the Corinthian turned his fear to certainty. From that point he could only fight desperately to stave off the catastrophe.

It is that third summer in the mountains, when the slave learned what had become of the infant, that is in a way the keystone of the dramatic structure.

10. The Britons in Roman Poetry (Lucretius, Catullus, Vergil, Horace), by Dr. Richard M. Gummere, of Haverford College.

Instead of the Romans in Britain, a study for which there is very little direct evidence, the substance of this paper is concerned with the Britons as the Romans saw them, especially in their poetry.

Seen from this light the early inhabitants of Britain are not to be considered in the mood of Tennyson or of Malory, nor as sacrosanct Druids and bards, but as a subject territory in its relations with Rome, — a far-away tribe: penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos.

The changes in the island, and the effect of the Conquests. Pytheas and his successors. Caesar. Tacitus. Differences of treatment in the two last-named. Caesar a masterly journalist, Tacitus a psychologist. Whether permanent or not,

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we see from Tacitus' *Agricola* 21 the reforms of civilization instituted by Agricola. Military importance of the island in making and unmaking emperors.

(*a*) Lucretius the Philosopher.

v, 32 ff. General allusion to the unknown sea.

vi, 1103 ff. Note on climatic conditions in Britain, mentioning it by name. To Lucretius it is an island not to be reckoned with, except in so far as it supplies phenomena of new scientific interest.

(*b*) Catullus the Lyricist.

Carm. 11 (if the reading be correct) and 29 give *ultima Britannia* like an opera-motive. 45, 22 — an island of fabulous wealth (a theory exploded later). Catullus regards Britain as a Parisian regards the rest of his country and the world. It is only interesting as a place which concerns the characters at whom he is aiming.

(*c*) Vergil the Poet.

Ecl. 1. 66 (see above: toto divisos orbe Britannos).

Georg. i, 30, tibi serviat ultima Thule.

Georg. iii, 24 f. A sort of Wild West show.

In *Georg.* iii, 204, *Belgica esseda* may refer to Britain because of the close relationship of those nations. In the *Aeneid* we have nothing except allusions to Iberian cattle, Teuton lances. viii, 727 *Morini, extremi hominum*, seems to be the limit. May this epic silence be a part of the suppression of the deeds of the divine Julius ?

(*d*) Horace the Laureate.

Here we are still at the end of things — *Od.* i, 21, 14. "Drive away the curse (of war and famine) to the Persians and the Britons." *Od.* i, 26, 4, may be some chief of that region — not necessarily Scythian. i, 34, 11. The *Atlanteus finis.* Still we find *ultimi Britanni*, i, 35, 29 ff.

iii, 5, 2 ff. The meditated expedition of Augustus. But (*Od.* iii, 4, 33 and iv, 14, 47 f.) the ocean and the nation are too forbidding, and Augustus turns away. No British captives (7, 7) have yet marched along the Via Sacra.

Horace's words are those of a political laureate, not sprung from an absorbing interest; he feels compelled to touch on the great national issues.

Thus, each in his own way, our four poets show that Rome still feels these islanders as *ultimi.*

11. Relative Standards in Science and in Syntax, by Professor William Gardner Hale, of the University of Chicago.

For brevity, I use the word science in the ordinary improper sense, as meaning natural science only.

Science bases itself upon facts, constantly freshly observed. It does not fear difficulty. It is hospitable to new theories, and judges by evidence, not by tradition. Its purpose is, to understand things as they are, and to *explain* them as they are.

And this same spirit on the part of investigators is conveyed to their young disciples. They, too, are trained to accept nothing blindly; to observe for themselves; to probe and test; and to love truth.

Our syntax bases itself primarily, not upon facts, but upon tradition. It is unobservant. It does not know how or where to look for evidence. It is inhos-

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pitable to new views. It fears difficulty. Its aim is, not to understand things as they are, and to teach them as they are, but to furnish a body of supposedly easy formulae for school and college use. The result is that it is self-contradictory, unreal, and ineffective. And the further result is that our students, instead of feeling that syntax deals with a living reality, — the expression of ideas, — regard it as a mere exercise in mental ingenuity, of a disagreeable kind.

In supporting some of these statements, the brief space of an abstract compels me to restrict myself to a small part of a single field. I choose that of the moods, and begin with an instance of the non-observance of facts.

The Greek use of the Optative in Indirect Discourse, and the conversion of Subjunctive to Optative after a secondary tense, together with the use of the Latin and Germanic Subjunctive in Indirect Discourse, are assigned to the Potential idea by all recent writers, as, for example, by Brugmann, by Behaghel, and, at one remove of development, by Delbrück (thus, "he asked who the strangers might be"). Such a descent is in itself possible. But what are the facts? It is precisely these that the theory of origin must account for. They are as follows: (1) The construction in Greek is confined to the past. (2) The particle ἄν or κε is regularly absent in Homeric Greek, and, in Attic prose, always absent. But (1) the Potential idea is *not* confined to the past, either in the nature of things or in Greek usage; and (2) the Potential Optative is generally accompanied by ἄν or κε in Homeric Greek, and always by ἄν in Attic prose. Either of these objections is, of itself alone, fatal to the theory. If the problem had lain in chemistry or physics, can we believe that no one would have put the theory to the corresponding simple test of conformity to facts? This is my point. The solution of the problem does not belong here, and, indeed, is promised elsewhere.

The most common explanation of the uses of the Subjunctive in Latin, French, English, etc., is that they are due to its being the "mood of conception," the "subjective mood."[1] Years ago, I reached, by observation, a very different view of the Subjunctive mood-forces. It is summed up for Latin in my *First Latin Book* in the easy statement, § 596, I–V: "The Subjunctive is used to express an act as willed, anticipated, or wished, or as proper, likely, possible, or certain in an imagined case; in Fact-Clauses of Consecutive nature or origin; in Conditions; in Indirect Discourse; and by Attraction." These categories have been called monstrosities by a colleague of mine in another university, — an illustration both of inhospitality to new ideas and of inability to use evidence; for my selected examples in the syntax of the Hale-Buck Grammar display illustrations which can be interpreted in no other way than as the expression of the ideas enumerated. The last four categories are, in one form or another, common to all the grammars. The condemnation must then apply to the earlier ones, which, in working phrases, I have called the Volitive Subjunctive, the Anticipatory Subjunctive, the Optative Subjunctive, the Subjunctive of Obligation, Propriety, or Reasonableness, the Subjunctive of Natural Likelihood, and the Subjunctive of Ideal Certainty, — the last as seen, for example, in the Subjunctive conclusion.[2]

[1] In "A Century of Metaphysical Syntax," *Papers of the St. Louis Universal Exposition of 1904*, I have shown that this doctrine goes back to Gottfried Hermann, who, in 1801, applied the Modal Categories of the Critique of Pure Reason to the Greek verb.

[2] I hope some day to find time to show that these ideas are common to all languages of which we have knowledge, and cover nearly all Subjunctive and Optative uses.

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Now everybody recognizes the existence of an Optative Subjunctive, and nearly everybody that of a Potential Subjunctive. The trouble lies, then, in the remaining categories. But my categories, Volitive Subjunctive and Anticipatory Subjunctive, have already passed out of the realm of monstrosities by being adopted in Bennett's Grammar, which they do not seem to have ruined, and, partly in express name, partly in substance under other names, in the Harkness Grammar and the Allen and Greenough Grammar. There are left the Subjunctive of Obligation, the Subjunctive of Natural Likelihood, and the Subjunctive of Ideal Certainty. Are these monstrosities, or do these forces exist?

I begin with the last. The Subjunctive in Conclusions regularly means, not "might," but "*would*"; that is, it expresses, not possibility, as, for example, Bennett, following the traditional explanation, makes it do (read § 303 *a* and § 280), but a certainty in an imagined case. Certainty and possibility are far apart, in syntax as in science.

Take next the category of Natural Likelihood. What other mood-force can be attributed to such an example as Catullus's *quare desinat esse macer*, 89, 4 "why should he cease to be lean?", or, in the dependent form, later in the poem, *quantumvis quare sit macer invenies*, "you'll find every reason why he should be lean." The idea is a common one in any familiar form of speech. One can hardly read a sheet of a newspaper without finding "should" or "ought" used in this sense.

The category of Obligation, Propriety, or Reasonableness remains. I present eight sentences for examination: —

1. Quid facere debuisti? Frumentum ne emisses. Cic. *Verr.* iii, 84, 195.
2. Non triumphum debuit impedire, sed postero die . . . nomen deferret. Livy, xlv, 37, 4.
3. . . . sed eo deceptum, quod neque commissum a se intellegeret quare timeret, neque sine causa timendum putaret. Caes. *B.G.* i, 14.
4. Vereamini, censeo, ne . . . . Multo magis est verendum, ne . . . . Cic. *Cat.* iv, 6, 13.
5. Quid est, cur illi vobis comparandi sint? Livy, xxi, 43, 12.
6. Quamquam quid ego te invitem? Cic. *Cat.* i, 9, 24.
7. A legibus non recedamus. Cic. *Clu.* 155.
8. Nihil est quod pocula laudes. Verg. *Ecl.* 3, 48.

In 1 and 2, the balancing of the Subjunctive against *debuisti* and *debuit* proves that the mood here expresses the idea of Obligation. The same is true of the balancing of *timeret* against *timendum* in 3, and of *vereamini* (ironical statement of Obligation) against *verendum* in 4. We read these last two passages year after year. We read, but we do not observe. The same force of the mood is shown by Livy's variant *cur comparandi sint* in 5 in place of the ordinary *cur comparentur*.

The power of the mood being thus proved to exist, the force in 6, 7, and 8 is at once obvious, even if it were not before. It is the same, "*should*" in each case.

Now let us see what our traditional and unobservant syntax does with our Caesar example. The construction occurs twice in the Helvetian War, the second place being in 1, 19, *satis esse causae arbitrabatur quare in eum animad-*

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verteret, "Caesar thought there was reason enough why he should punish the man." For the first passage, Harkness and Forbes give the explanation "Potential Subjunctive in a relative clause." The second they call "Subjunctive of Characteristic." Westcott calls both examples "Subjunctives of Characteristic." So does Kelsey. Allen and Greenough say nothing of the first, but call the second "Subjunctive of Characteristic." Towle and Jenks have no note on the first, but call the second an "Indirect Question," — which it obviously is not, since *quod* in the corresponding construction in 8 is *not* interrogative.

Here are three different opinions about a common Latin construction. This is the best that our unobservant and traditional grammatical science has been able to give.

And, finally, what is gained by not recognizing the mood-force which I have just pointed out? Look at the complexity of *false* distinctions which our grammars impose upon our young students. They learn to say, for the first two examples, "Jussive in the past," for the third, "Subjunctive of Characteristic," for the sixth, "Deliberative Question," — three different names for one idea, and none of them hitting it; while for such examples as the seventh they have to say, "*non* used for *ne*." Compare with this the simplicity of my explanation, Subjunctive of Obligation, Propriety, or Reasonableness, one and all, with no difference except in the manner of putting the idea, — *Statement* of Obligation, *Question* of Obligation, *Relative Clause* of Obligation. So true is it that the real simplicity is that which is based upon observation, and not that which is based either upon lack of observation or upon pedagogic manipulation in the supposed interest of the learner.

The paper will be published in full in the *School Review* for November, 1909.

12. Plato, *Phaedo* 66 B, by Professor J. E. Harry, of the University of Cincinnati.

The sentence beginning with ἐκ πάντων is merely a restatement of the conclusions reached in 65 B–66 A, and must be taken closely with these to be understood. Editors, apparently, have failed to do this.

The interpretation of the passage depends upon the meaning of ἐκφέρει. In Soph. *Ai.* 7 the verb signifies *leads on*, here *leads off*. The ἰδία ὁδός would take us to truth, but the ἀτραπός deflects us. Cf. Aesch. *Prom.* 883 ἔξω φέρομαι. Hence the verb in the *Phaedo* is equivalent to *declinare, a recta via ducere*. So the Schol. explains ψ 392 by χωρὶς καὶ ἔξωθεν τῆς ὁδοῦ (*e via excurrerunt*). Cf. ψ 421, 423. Similar are ἐκτραπὲν φέρεσθαι (Arrian, *An.* vii, 21, 4), ἐκτροπή (*Rep.* 267 A), ἔκκλασις (*Plut.* 2, 92), ἐκνεύσις τῆς ὁδοῦ (Schol. Ar. *Ran.* 113), and the passage in the *Gorgias* where the judges in the lower world are sitting ἐν τῇ τριόδῳ, ἐξ ἧς φέρεται τὼ ὁδώ. (Cp. also Theocritus 915 εἰμὶ δρόμην ὁδὸν οὐδετέρωσε κλινόμενος.

If the soul attempts to investigate something μετὰ τοῦ σώματος, it is diverted (ἐξαπατᾶται). The phrase ἐν τῇ σκέψει does not refer to the philosopher's consideration of the proper method to be adopted in these investigations, but to the soul's search for truth. Jowett's translation is incorrect. A distinction of the

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sense would probably not have been permitted by the ear as readily as by the eye. Read with the proper intonation the sentence becomes transparent: *ὥστε καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοιαῦτα λέγειν ὅτι "κινδυνεύει τοι ὥσπερ . . ." ὅτι "ἕως ἂν τὸ σῶμα ἔχωμεν κτέ."*

Appetites and passions thwart our efforts and carry us away from *τὸ ὄν*, deflect us from the right road, which we would not abandon if we made our search *εἰλικρινεῖ τῇ διανοίᾳ*. The clause *ἕως ἂν τὸ σῶμα ἔχωμεν* means *ἕως ἂν τοῦ σώματος μὴ ἀπαλλαγῶμεν ὅτι μάλιστα*. The question propounded in 65 A is *πότερον ἐμπόδιον τὸ σῶμα ἢ οὔ, ἐάν τις αὐτὸ ἐν τῇ ζητήσει κοινωνὸν συμπαραλαμβάνῃ*; The answer is given in 66 B. The body *is* an obstacle, for it leads us astray, and after we have followed the wrong path for some time, we finally recognize our mistake and exclaim: "Nous avons fait fausse route!"

The phrase *μετὰ τοῦ λόγου* presents some difficulty. Wohlrab says: "Nemo satis explicavit." In my opinion Plato merely reverses the previous statement, and *ἡ ψυχὴ μετὰ τοῦ σώματος* becomes *τὸ σῶμα μετὰ τῆς ψυχῆς, i.e.* λόγου (*rationis*). When the two go together, we lose our way in the quest, and we must "reprendre la bonne route." Cf. the orators' *ἔνθεν ἐξέβην* (= *ἔνθεν ἐξέφερέ με ἡ ἀτραπός*).

If the objection be raised that Plato would not have said *ὥσπερ ἀτραπός τις* of the body without giving us some hint that the subject of *ἐκφέρει* is *τὰ σῶμα*, it may be answered that the whole discussion from 64 E on is *περὶ τοῦ σώματος*, that *ἐκ πάντων τούτων* in 66 B refers particularly to the foregoing considerations respecting the body and its unavoidable hindrances to clear thinking, that the subject of the sentences in 65 B–66 A is naturally carried over as the logical subject of the sentence in 66 B, and, finally, that when Socrates appends a second *ὅτι* clause as one of the *τοιαῦτα ἄττα*, he purposely adds *ἕως ἂν τὸ σῶμα ἔχωμεν* (to make his meaning clear), and reënforces this with *ξυμπεφυρμένη ἡ ψυχὴ μετὰ τοιούτου κακοῦ, i.e. σώματος.*

13. Etruscan and Other Old-Italic Dialects, by Professor George Hempl, of Stanford University.

Professor Hempl sent to the Association in session at Toronto a letter, accompanied by illustrative charts, in which he announced that he had succeeded in reading some fifty Etruscan inscriptions, and found the language an Italic dialect belonging to the Latin-Faliscan group. The interpretation of the Lemnos inscriptions will be published in the Stanford University Series the coming winter, to be followed by a volume of Italic Etruscan inscriptions.

14. Platonists and Aristotelians, by Principal Maurice Hutton, of the University of Toronto.

The proverbial difference is of temperament and method, not of conclusions; of presuppositions and of principles rather than of results.

(1) Plato generalizes: Aristotle distinguishes. Plato unites art and virtue: virtue and knowledge: natural science and mathematics: medicine and the administration of justice: politics and navigation: man and woman: the human and the divine: and so on: Aristotle carefully distinguishes politics from the arts:

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the human shepherd from the shepherd of sheep: the burglar from the conqueror or tyrant: man from woman: character from intellect: morality from religion or philosophy: man from God: there is monarchy and monarchy: there is selfishness and selfishness: slaves and slaves, etc.

(2) Plato represents *a priori* and mathematical thought: the ultimate verities are the verities of logic, *i.e.* self and God: all science can be turned into mathematics, and mathematics into metaphysics, which is theology. But Aristotle represents experience or the methods of natural science: the ultimate verities of which are the world, self, and one's neighbors. With Plato everything goes back to mystical mathematics: with Aristotle knowledge is an accumulation of details, not leading (necessarily) to any wide generalization or general view of life: and yet the goal of learning is even pleasanter than the process, just because a complete collection of facts and specimens — even without inferences therefrom — is more satisfying than a collection which is partial. The vanity of all knowledge — unless it illuminate the meaning of life — is not a reflection of Aristotle's.

(3) Plato is therefore idealist while Aristotle is realist: Plato reforming and revolutionary: Aristotle cautious and conservative and critical. Plato is less of a mere Greek: less limited to this world and this life. He has a platform, most of the planks of which are still live questions: Aristotle gives you merely a list of pros and cons, without convictions, or conclusions.

(4) Plato is therefore the man and the man of action, the would-be statesman, the possible soldier: Aristotle was a speculative student (of science largely) first and last. Nor is it inconsistent with this to add that Plato was the theologian against Aristotle the Positivist. Plato had the fervor of the missionary and "the religious," Aristotle was like his own Epicurean gods: he was the forerunner of Epicurus: as Plato of Stoicism.

(5) The difference resolves itself largely into that between poetry and science: the creative, constructive, and imaginative faculties and the analytic and critical: or into that between the feminine and the masculine. Plato was not merely the champion of co-education: his intelligence, like a poet's, included the feminine intelligence: Aristotle is narrowly limited and masculine.

(6) Plato, it follows, is more concerned with duty: Aristotle with happiness. Plato is much more nearly a παιδαγωγὸς εἰς Χριστόν, much more ready to rebel against the horrors of ancient (and of modern) society: against slavery, infanticide, abortion: in spite of his aristocracy he is in a much greater degree the missionary and the philanthropist.

This paper will appear in *The Quarterly Magazine* of the Universities of McGill, Toronto, and Dalhousie.

15. The Satirical Elements in Rutilius Claudius Namatianus, by Professor George Dwight Kellogg, of Princeton University.

The poem of 712 elegiac verses, which was published in 416 A.D. or according to another reckoning in 417 A.D., describes the motives and incidents of a journey taken by Rutilius from Rome to his ravaged estates in southern Gaul. The style is highly poetic, although not sustained. The alternation of poetic and prose effects gives to the poem sometimes almost the semblance of a *catena*,

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or of at least having been composed in sections. Throughout there is the tone of an *apologia* for the writer's private and official life, his family, his friends, his adherence to the old national spirit and religious and philosophical beliefs. The poem is throughout personal and autobiographical. The long parting apostrophe to Rome — a Rome such as hardly existed at that day — rings like a rejoinder to the pessimism of such critics as Umbricius in Juvenal iii, and those fourth century moralists, who according to Ammianus Marcellinus (xxviii, 4, 14) morbidly read their Juvenals and the histories of Marius Maximus by way of cold consolation. The silence of the writer concerning the emperor Honorius and his court, and his bitter invective against Stilicho, the father-in-law of Honorius, may indicate that there is here a spirit of rejoinder to the fulsome eulogies of them by Claudian, as well as a justification for the writer's own position, and may hide his real motives for leaving Rome. The one passage of real literary criticism, i, 603 ff., is in praise of the life and satires of a certain Lucillus, the father of Decius, who, he says, is excelled by neither Turnus nor Juvenal, and no better characterization of Rutilius' own satiric invective could be given than his own words about Lucillus: dumque malos carpit praecipit esse bonos. A constructive moral purpose is behind all his strictures. He also is conscious of playing the rôle of critic of his own times, when he lashes the Lepidi, i, 307, ff.: —

> nunc quoque — sed melius de nostris fama queretur:
> iudex posteritas semina dira notet.

Especially pungent are his *obiter dicta* about the superstitions, mythological legends, the neglect of historic sites and shrines, the discomforts of the trip by land and by boat — rains, storms, calms, shallows, poor inns and the rascally innkeeper. There are six passages of long invective, aggregating a seventh of the poem, launched against Stilicho (ii, 41–60), the Jewish innkeeper (i, 380–398), monasticism (i, 439–452, 515–527), gold as the root of all evil (i, 345–370), and against the Lepidi, who had for generations been the curse of Rome (i, 295–312). Teuffel (*Gesch. d. röm. Litt.* 454, 3) calls the poem "halb Idyll halb Satire." In the light of the large amount of destructive and constructive satire in this late travel sketch, we may well recall the fondness of the Roman satirists for that form so well adapted to varied and desultory criticism and at the same time to genial, sympathetic, and entertaining description.

16. The Study of Philology in Ontario, by Professor David R. Keys, University of Toronto.

The present occasion marks an epoch in the intellectual life of Ontario. At this first meeting of the American Philological Association in our University, it seems fitting to give some account of the study of philology in our province, and to endeavor to determine the causes which brought about its development and have conditioned its progress. Such details concerning the University of Toronto as may be referred to will serve to give our visitors a better understanding of the unique history of this institution. Philology, for the purpose of this paper, may be defined as the study of language and literature according to the modern methods of comparison in space and time. To illustrate comparison in space, we have the following note from a McGill University calendar for 1861,

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under the subject of Spanish (taught by the professor of Hebrew): "Besides a special comparison with the Portuguese language, a general notice, literary and historical, of the Bascueuse (*sic*) and other dialects will be given." This is the first hint of the study of comparative philology in Canada. By comparison in time is meant that historical method which finds the best source of light on Latin constructions in the syntax of Sanskrit, and explains the English plural *oxen* as a relic of the Anglo-Saxon weak declension.

To dispose at the outset of individual workers, Ontario has had her Elihu Burritt in Mr. Henry Witton, the Sanskrit scholar, who helped to inspire the late Arthur William Stratton, Canada's greatest philologist; she has had her mute, inglorious Schleyers, inventors of languages stillborn; she has had her Mezzofanti in the late Professor John Campbell, who is said to have studied six hundred languages, and whose *Etruria Capta* preëmpted Professor Hempl's claim. Turning to the academic study of philology, we find that the first two presidents of University (formerly King's) College were both distinguished before coming to America as representatives, the one of ancient, the other of modern, philology and archaeology. Dr. John McCaul, of Trinity College, Dublin, was the greatest authority of his time on Britanno-Roman inscriptions, his successor, Dr. (afterwards Sir) Daniel Wilson, was the author of the *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, and the first to use that most useful adjective. King's College began in 1842, under the most conservative influences, but as the American Revolution changed King's College, New York, into Columbia College, so the development of a democratic spirit in Canada reacted upon higher education, and removed all religious restrictions from the University of Toronto as it was reconstituted in 1850.

Under this new constitution, which was based on that of the University of London, and therefore ultimately on the German ideas of the Prince Consort, the University was purely an examining body, and the teaching was done by University College, a dualism which to some extent still continues, as the classic languages are still taught in University College, while the Chair of Comparative Philology is in the University. By a further change in 1854 a division was made between five courses: Classics, Mathematics, Modern Languages, Metaphysics, and Natural Science; and soon after these became known as Honour courses, and scholarships were given to each course as a further encouragement to specialization. This led students to post-graduate work in Germany; and to the introduction of German methods of study into the Modern Languages in 1877, when Schleicher and Diez became the text-books in German and Romance philology. At the same time Old and Middle High German, and, in 1885, Gothic and Old French, texts were placed on the curriculum. In 1890 Anglo-Saxon was first introduced as a part of the Honour English course. Thus, by a curious chance, the beginnings of philological work were made in the modern, not the classic languages.

During all these years the conflict had never ceased between the State College and those which had been founded by Presbyterians and Methodists in the days when King's College was Anglican. Under the mediation of Professor Goldwin Smith the Federation Act of 1887 was brought about, and now for the first time a professor of Comparative Philology was appointed in the person of Dr. Maurice Hutton, now Principal of University College. In 1886, however, Professor J. F. McCurdy, a graduate of Princeton, had offered a course on Sanskrit, attended by seven students, one of whom was to become a professor of Sanskrit in India.

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Not till the present year has Sanskrit again been taught in the University by Professor Andrew Bell. Meanwhile a course in Comparative Philology had been begun in Queen's University, Kingston, by Professor Nicolson, who had been a fellow-student of Dr. McCurdy's at Princeton. But, while Dr. McCurdy's class was voluntary, and won no place on the University curriculum, that at Queen's was entered as a part of the Honour course in Greek in the year 1891–2, and in the following year Comparative Philology and Sanskrit were made a separate department, and continued as such until Professor Nicolson's death in 1907. The text-books in both Queen's and Toronto had been Perry's Primer, Lanman's Reader, and Whitney's Grammar.

As early as 1879 Professor Ferguson of Queen's had recognized the claims of Anglo-Saxon as an aid to the study of English. The text-book was that earliest monument of American erudition in this department, the Comparative Grammar of Anglo-Saxon, by Professor F. A. March, a former president of this Association. It was also used at Albert College, a Methodist Episcopal institution at Belleville, with one of those small but progressive faculties which so often argue for the survival of such centres of learning. Professor Wright had also to teach French, German, Italian, and Spanish, so that he deserved the more credit for adding Old English to the list.

Even more remarkable was the first introduction of Anglo-Saxon at Trinity College, Toronto. This institution represented the High Church section of the Anglican body, having been founded after the disestablishment of King's College in 1850. Here, in 1891, an Edinburgh student, the late Professor J. C. Dunlop, while engaged as lecturer on Modern Languages, professor of Oriental Languages, and associate professor of Greek and Latin, found time to read Anglo-Saxon with some of the students of English. In 1903 Trinity College followed the example of Victoria, and federated with the University of Toronto. It thus formed a third college within the institution, and obtained, like Victoria, the benefit of instruction in Comparative Philology from Professor Bell, a distinguished graduate of Toronto and Breslau, the pupil of Fick, Studemund, Hertz, Brugmann, and Windisch. Sanskrit is an optional and post-graduate subject; the comparative grammar of Latin and Greek is an option for students in the classical course.

In Modern Languages more importance is attached to the historical study of grammar, especially in English. Honour students spend three years on Anglo-Saxon and two on Middle English. The popularity of the language courses has so burdened the teaching staff that they have little time for original research or post-graduate instruction. Hence the smallness of our list of philological studies, except in the department of Oriental Languages, which has been alone up to the present in offering a course for the degree of doctor of philosophy.

Toronto contains another university, McMaster, maintained by the members of the Baptist church. It was formerly affiliated with the state institution, but in 1890 began an independent career under its own charter. The courses are more general, and the specialization is not carried so far as in the provincial university, but the teaching is by German and American methods, as all the professors (mostly graduates of Toronto) have done post-graduate work abroad, and McMaster graduates have made themselves a name in Chicago.

Thus it appears that in the academic study of philology, our Ontario colleges, having been early attracted by German ideals, have latterly come more and more

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under the influence of American ideas, more practical perhaps than those of Germany, though not less scientific. Occasionally, too, as in 1904, at St. Louis, and now in Toronto, we have joined our American cousins for the common furtherance of philological studies. Toronto has reason to hope for a great expansion of post-graduate work in philology. Therefore it is all the more necessary for us to keep in close touch with our American neighbours, so that each may aid the other in widening the bounds of that Republic of Letters of which we are all loyal citizens.

17. Recent Contributions to the Study of Lucilius, by Professor Charles Knapp, Barnard College, Columbia University.

In this paper the author discussed in detail the prolegomena to the two volumes of Marx's edition of the fragments of Lucilius, published by Teubner (Leipzig), in 1904–1905, and pages 1–99 of Conrad Cichorius's *Untersuchungen zu Lucilius* (Weidmann, Berlin, 1908). Marx's treatment of the dramatic satura was condemned as entirely inadequate; the author declared that Marx had been insensible of the importance of the problem presented by the sceptical assault on the Roman tradition concerning the early forms of the drama and that he had missed a fine opportunity to write a really incisive treatment of the whole subject. The efforts of both Marx and Cichorius to throw fresh light on the life and career of Lucilius were carefully considered; the author held that interesting as the 'Kombinationen' of the two scholars were, their results can seldom be accepted, since the foundations on which they seek to build are nearly always most insecure; in some cases their fundamental assumptions are demonstrably false. Special attention was paid in conclusion to Marx's theory of Nonius Marcellus' mode of citing from Lucilius; on this theory Marx rests his arrangement of the extant fragments of Lucilius. The author held that Marx's theory of Nonius' method of citation was, in one most important detail, decidedly erroneous. The consideration of this theory led the author to call attention to a book which, in his judgment, had not received as much attention as it deserves at the hands of students of early Latin fragments, Lindsay's pamphlet entitled *Nonius Marcellus' Dictionary of Republican Latin*. Cichorius, he pointed out, knew this pamphlet; yet he was at great pains to prove over again what Lindsay had amply demonstrated already. Both Marx and Cichorius at times show ignorance of important works on the subjects treated by them, or at least fail to cite those works.

The paper was published in full, in the form of a review of the books named, in *The American Journal of Philology*, XXIX, 467–482.

18. Later Echoes of the Greek Bucolic Poets, by Professor Wilfred P. Mustard, of Johns Hopkins University.

The title of this paper is meant to suggest the influence of the Greek Bucolic Poets upon modern literature.

The direct imitation of these poets begins very soon after the revival of Greek learning; in fact, very soon after the appearance of the first printed edition of the Idyls, *c.* 1481.

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Perhaps the first work to be mentioned is Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, the famous pastoral romance which had so much influence upon the pastoral literature of the sixteenth century. This contains a number of direct imitations of Theocritus, some of them of considerable length — for it is interesting to learn from one of his letters that Sannazaro knew Theocritus at first hand. The *Arcadia*, in its original form, was written before 1489.

Another early name is that of Luigi Alamanni, best known for his long romantic epics, but also the author of a number of Italian eclogues. The first of these eclogues is a lament for Cosmo Rucellai, who died in 1514. It is a paraphrase, almost a translation, of the first Idyl.

And this device of adapting the great dirge of Theocritus to serve as a modern dirge was soon borrowed by others; and by the middle of the sixteenth century it had become a regular literary fashion. Thus one of the eclogues of Benedetto Varchi is definitely entitled an imitation of the *Thyrsis;* and the author explains that following the modern fashion (*secondo il costume moderno*), he has introduced one of his friends under the name of Menalcas to bewail the untimely death of another under the name of Daphnis.

And, still speaking only of the first Idyl, we soon find it echoed in other lands — by Clément Marot in his *Complainte de Madame Loyse*, a passage which is itself imitated in Spenser's *Shepheards Calender;* by Ronsard and Baïf, the two great members of the French Pleiad; by Garcilaso de la Vega in Spain, and Antonio Ferreira in Portugal; in Milton's *Epitaphium Damonis*, perhaps also in *Lycidas* and in Shelley's *Adonais*. And even the great champion of Virgil, Julius Caesar Scaliger, begins his first Latin eclogue in direct imitation of Theocritus.

And as it is with the first Idyl, so with many other poems of Theocritus; so, too, with many of the poems of Bion and Moschus.

To be sure, many of the modern echoes of these Greek poets are merely 'secondary' echoes — passages, that is, which are taken not directly from the Greek, but from some paraphrase or imitation of the Greek. The passage of Garcilaso de la Vega already mentioned (Egl. ii) comes from Theocritus (i, 115 ff.), through Sannazaro's *Arcadia* (Prosa viii). Lines 132–146 of the seventh Idyl are repeated in like manner, through Sannazaro (Prosa x), in Valbuena's *Siglo de Oro* (Prosa x). And — one other instance — Navagero's Latin eclogue *Iolas* is largely made up from various Idyls of Theocritus, and then serves in its turn as a model for both Ronsard and Baïf — for Ronsard in his second Eclogue, and Baïf in his sixth.

One poem of Theocritus which has been a universal favorite is the eighth Idyl. This has been imitated very often — from Sannazaro to Carducci, from Ronsard to Leconte de Lisle. And yet its latest editor, Professor Wilamowitz, rejects it as unworthy of Theocritus: "und wer das nicht empfindet, mit dem soll man nicht über Poesie reden."

Another poem which may be mentioned here is the *Lament for Bion*. This was first printed in 1495, and as early as 1504 it is closely imitated in the eleventh Eclogue of Sannazaro's *Arcadia*. A dozen years later it is paraphrased bodily by Luigi Alamanni, as a lament for his poet friend Cosmo Rucellai. It is imitated in Castiglione's *Alcon*, a Latin eclogue which served as one of the models of Milton's *Lycidas*. It is imitated again in Clément Marot's *Complainte de Madame Loyse*, and, through Marot, in Spenser's *Shepheards Calender*. It is

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echoed in a Portuguese eclogue by Antonio Ferreira, in Baïf's poem on the death of Margaret, Queen of Navarre, in the 'Doric lay' of Milton's *Lycidas*, and in Wordsworth's *Afterthought*. It supplied a large portion of Shelley's *Adonais*, and inspired four splendid stanzas of Matthew Arnold's *Thyrsis*.

After all its influence upon the greater literatures of the modern world, the *Lament for Bion* has been pronounced "ein unbedeutendes Gedicht." This is the verdict of Professor Wilamowitz, who lately edited Moschus for the *Oxford Classical Texts*. Surely it must cause some surprise in the land of Milton and Shelley and Arnold, for —

the weeping
For Adonais by the summer sea,
The plaints for Lycidas, and Thyrsis (sleeping
Far from "the forest ground called Thessaly"),
These hold thy memory, Bion, in their keeping,
And are but echoes of the moan for thee.

The paper will be published in the *American Journal of Philology*.

19. Early Mediaeval Commentaries on Terence, by Professor Edward K. Rand, of Harvard University.

The Scholia on Terence published by Schlee in 1893, and called by him *Commentarius Antiquior*, do not, as he and Wölfflin (*A.L.L.* VIII (1893), 413 ff.) thought, consist of an ancient set of comments — or possibly only explanations of scenes — plus random accretions of the Middle Ages. The scholia are as a whole mediaeval, though drawn from ancient sources now and then, and they present two distinct and complete commentaries.

One of these commentaries was written in the earlier Carolingian period, and is best represented by the Codex Halensis, which was published accurately with its scholia by Bruns in 1811, a work strangely neglected by more recent investigators of the text of Terence. This earlier commentary, which appears also in Mss CFECr, consisted of a life of Terence, with remarks on comedy, prefaces to the different plays, explanations of scenes and brief notes on the meanings of words and phrases. Few citations from ancient authors occur, and few comments on ancient life — most of those which do occur betray amazing ignorance. The commentator is painfully ignorant of Greek. Wessner has shown (*R. M.* LXII (1907), 203 ff.) that version α of the commentary of Eugraphius included bits of the *Commentarius Antiquior;* only the earlier of the two commentaries is thus used, which may well have been composed before Eugraphius was made known in the Carolingian period.

The later Commentary is found in Mss D and M; though following the same general plan as the earlier, it is much fuller. In its longer notes, though not lacking in absurdities, it shows a wider range of information. Various ancient authors are quoted, and the commentator has picked up a little Greek. He might well have belonged to the circle of Heiric of Auxerre.

Schlee's *Commentarius Recentior*, though differing in plan from the preceding work, draws largely from it. The author may be Remigius of Auxerre, or some associate of his.

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Still a fourth commentary on Terence dates from the early Middle Ages; it is partly preserved in the added portions of the α version of Eugraphius. The author was especially interested in rhetorical and philosophical analysis.

The paper will be published in *Classical Philology*.

20. Homeric Choice of Dissyllables as Influenced by Metre, by Professor John A. Scott, of the Northwestern University.

Certain words, such as σοφός, νόμος, are not in Homer, while λόγος is used but twice. These words were not unknown to him, since derivatives of the first two are found, and the root of the last appears both in the noun and in verbs. Later epic used these words as little as Homer, but not from imitation, as they freely used words not in the early epic, and made common use of words rare in Homer. The reason for the apparent avoidance of these words lies in the fact that they are pyrrhics. The first one hundred verses in the *Odyssey* have sixty-seven per cent of the dissyllables with long penults. In the first one hundred verses of Aesch. *P. V.* less than forty per cent have long penults. This, in general, forces Homer to choose, where choice is possible, the form or words with long penult. Many words such as θεός, ἐγώ, ἐμός, κατά, ἀνά, κτλ. he must use, as there is no ready substitute, so the choice of pyrrhics was still further restricted. How is the preference as shown in the sixty per cent to be manifested? Rarely by the violent method of metrical lengthening, but rather by a choice of the long forms or words already at hand. This is marked by the preference for the longer forms as shown in αἰεί, ῥεῖα, κρείων, πλεῖος, νῆα, εἴσω, χειρί, χρεῖος, κτλ., and by such words as ὦκα, ἔμπης, κεῖθι, αὐτάρ, εἰνί, κτλ. Elegiac poetry, in general, uses νόμος, σοφός, and λόγος only at the end of the pentameter, a place where the difference in metre can show itself. It is the quantity and not the ἦθος which gives to θέμιστες, δαίφρων, μῦθος their wide use in epic poetry. In any given verse the poet might have used νόμος, σοφός, or λόγος, but the ever-present influence of metre decided that particular choice. That the influence should have practically excluded these words from epic poetry is a pure accident. The fact that they are not used gives no indication of the poet's feeling in regard to them, as he does not use the word ῥόδον, yet held the rose in high esteem, as ῥοδοδάκτυλος shows.

21. The Puteanus Group of Mss of the Third Decade of Livy, by Professor F. W. Shipley, of Washington University.

The relationships of the Mss of the third decade of Livy which belong to the Spirensian group have been worked out in great detail by August Luchs, in the Prolegomena to his critical edition of books xxvi–xxx (Berl. 1879). The relationships of the Mss of the Puteanus group have, on the other hand, received but little attention, since the fifth century Puteanus from which they are descended is extant for the greater part of the decade. Several of them are, however, valuable for the constitution of the text at the beginning and end of the decade, which are missing in P, and Luchs in his critical apparatus makes use of M (= Mediceus Laurentianus lxiii, 20) and C (= Parisinus Colbertinus 5731) for book xxi, gives the readings of λ (= Laurentianus lxiii, 21) in books xxvi–xxx, and for the missing part of book xxx makes use of C and B (= Bambergensis

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M. iv, 9). Their relationship to P and to each other is therefore of some importance.

The stemma for these Mss, which Luchs gives on p. vii of his Prolegomena is in part incorrect. The error probably originated in Mommsen's *Analecta Liviana*, and the errors in the readings of Vaticanus Reginensis 762 as there given. So many errors were made either in the collation of that Ms submitted to Mommsen, or in the subsequent digesting of them in the Analecta, that the real position of Vat. Reg. in the Puteanus group was in large measure overlooked, and a new classification is therefore necessary.

With the single exception of C, all the Mss of the Puteanus group that are earlier than the fourteenth century are descended from P through Vat. Reg., namely M, B, and λ of the Mss used by Luchs in his critical apparatus, and the following Mss, which are designated by the numbers given in the Analecta: 27ᵃ (= Lond. Harl. 2493), 55 (= Vat. 1847), 26 (= Camb. Trin. Coll. R. 44), 2 (= Paris. Colb. 5732), 6 (= Paris. Colb. 5736). This is also true of the great majority of the Mss of the P group of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

A complete stemma showing the inter-relationships of the Mss of this group will be given in *Classical Philology*, October, 1909.

22. On *Virtus* and *Fortuna* in Certain Latin Writers, by Professor Kenneth C. M. Sills, of Bowdoin College.

It is the purpose of this paper to examine certain passages in Latin poetry wherein the words *virtus* and *fortuna* are used in close connection, with the object of showing what light the Roman conceptions of *virtus*, or the power of a man to get on by himself, the quality called by the Italians *virtù*, and of *Fortuna* throw upon the mediaeval and Renaissance conceptions of those ideas. During the early Middle Ages Fortune with her whirling wheel is the great ruling power; her figure dominates every page of such a characteristically mediaeval work as the *De Casibus* of Boccaccio, a Latin book written about 1365, whose extraordinary popularity and influence from that date until 1550 have not yet been sufficiently studied. In the Renaissance the watchword was *Virtù*: "Whatever a man *can* be, he *may* be."

In Latin literature, the comedies of Plautus are excellent examples of *virtù*, which is democratic and pragmatic doctrine. The Senecan dramas emphasize the power of *Fortuna*, whose rule, to be sure, is over all sorts and conditions of men, but who takes peculiar zest in overturning kings.

Several of the early poets show interest in the problem. Ennius exalts now *virtù*, now *Fortuna*. In certain passages (*i.e.* in Vahlen's edition *A.* 199, *Sc.* 180, *A.* 257) Ennius advances the theory that Fortune favors the brave; that man is to a great extent the maker of his own fortune. Elsewhere (*i.e. Sc.* 354, *A.* 289, *A.* 394, *A.* 312) he presents *Fortuna* as the fickle deity who takes delight in overthrowing the king from his high estate and in making him the lowest slave.

In one passage (*A.* 197) both conceptions are combined: Pyrrhus returns the Roman prisoners, refusing ransom in these words: —

> Vosne velit an me regnare era quidve ferat Fors
> Virtute experiamur.

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The picture is that of trial by combat with Fortune for judge. She is represented as a fickle goddess who may be woed and won by valor, by the ability to dare, by *virtù*, which even the bad may have (*Sc.* 188), —

nam saepe virtutem mali
Nanciscuntur.

The well-known lines of Pacuvius —

Fortunam insanam esse et caecam et brutam perhibent philosophi, etc.

show a dawning interest in the ethical speculation concerning fate.

Accius, in his *Telephus*, fr. 6, introduces the answer of the Stoic to Fortune (cf. Seneca, *Medea*, 176; and Horace, *Odes*, iii, 29, 49–56).

Nam si a me regnum, Fortuna, atque opes
Eripere quivit, at virtutem nec quivit.

The same thought is brought out in opposite form thus: —

Quibus natura prava magis quam fors aut fortuna obfuit.
Ribbeck. *Sc. Rom.* Vol. I, Attius, 110.

In the still more famous line from the *Armorum Iudicium*, fr. 10,

Virtuti sis par, dispar fortunis patris,

which is itself borrowed from Sophocles, *Ajax*, 550, and which is copied by Virgil, *Aen.* xii, 435 f., he differentiates very clearly between the two ideas. On the whole, Accius evidently puts the emphasis on *virtù*, although like Ennius he also admits the supremacy of fate.

Fors dominatur, neque quicquam ulli
Proprium in vita est.
Ribbeck, *op. cit.* 422.

In Roman comedy *Fortuna* is treated less seriously. Terence sums up the idea in the proverb: Fortes fortuna adiuvat (*Phormio* 203; cf. Virgil, *Aen.* x, 284; Ovid, *Met.* x, 586; and Pliny, *Ep.* vi, 16). Decimus Laberius introduces the complaint to Fortune, so familiar in mediaeval writers, in a passage wherein he finds fault that Fortune did not attack him when he was young and strong and able to stand her blows. Publilius Syrus, on the other hand, emphasizes the fickleness of the goddess.

There seems to be no trace in the Roman poets of the Republic of the picture, so popular in the Middle Ages, of Fortune bringing mighty kings to death, nor any allusion to the connection between Fortune and Death. The citation of a great number of the famous dead to show the power of Fortune and the helplessness of man before her seems to be the product of the mediaeval imagination. For purposes of comparison and contrast it is interesting, however, to study the list of kings and potentates, all come to death, which is given by Lucretius at the end of his third book.

Under the Empire *Fortuna* came to be a more and more important figure. There are apostrophes to her in Lucan. In every one of the nine Senecan

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dramas and in the *Octavia* there are specific references to her power. Seneca makes out that the only protection is that of the Stoic (*Medea* 176): —

Fortuna opes auferre, non animum potest.

There is then reason for tracing the history of the ideas of fortune and of *virtù* in Latin writers. To be sure, the didactic tone so characteristic of the Middle Ages is lacking in the one case, and the strong individualistic emphasis of *virtù* is lacking in the other. But the Romans of Plautus' day would have appreciated the *Decameron;* the Romans under Nero might not have misunderstood the *De Casibus.*

23. The Recently Discovered Turfan Fragments of the Crucifixion (Dârôbadagêftîg) of Jesus, by Professor Herbert Cushing Tolman, of Vanderbilt University.

The Turfan Mss (*Handschriftenreste . . . aus Turfan*, Müller, *SBAW*, 1904, I, ii, 348–352, 1–117; 1907, 260–270), found quite recently in Chinese Turkestan, restore to us the lost Manichaean literature. They are carefully and even sumptuously copied, some with colored (red, blue, yellow, green) superscriptions and ornate initials. The Middle Persian is written in Estrangelo script which very inadequately and often ambiguously represents the language; e.g. *mûrdân* (i.e. *murdân* < Ancient Persian * *martānām*), *mûrg* (i.e. *murg*, cf. New Persian *murγ*), *'ûšân* (not *'ôšân* as read by Müller).

In this quite extensive material are fragments relating to the Crucifixion and Resurrection of Jesus. I oppose the theory of Müller which regards them as translations from the extra-canonical Gospels, especially the Gospel of Peter, with which he makes a lengthy comparison. For the following reasons I view them rather as being partly at least an echo of *urchristliche Ueberlieferung* from a source which seems to be distinctly Aramaic.

(1) Absence of anachronisms: *Pad'êv Šambat pad mûrgvâg sar'agad Maryam Šalom Maryam 'ad 'abârîg vas žanîn 'ûšân* (*wrongly 'ôšân*, Müller: *cf.* Bartholomae, *Zum Air. Wb.*, 88, particle "and"-pron. encl.) *bôdâcâr vakhš nêrd 'âvard*, "On the first day of the week at the beginning of the song of birds came Mary Salome and Mary with many other women, and by them was brought a fragrant herb, nard." I am certain that the phrase *'êv Šambat*, "on first day of the week" (not "an einem Sabbatstag," Bartholomae) is the regular Rabbinical בְּשַׁבָּת אֶחָד imitated in the Greek *μίαν σαββάτων* (Mt. 28, 1. For שַׁבָּת in the sense of week *cf.* Lev. 23, 15). The so-called Peter Gospel, on the other hand, reads (v. 35) *ἡ κυριακή*, first found in a doubtful sense in Rev. 1, 10, and not in general use till the time of the Didache. We note also the absence of the Gnostic interpretation that the cross followed Jesus from the tomb as given in the Gospel above cited (vv. 39–42).

(2) Aramaisms: (*a*) *Mašîḥâ* for Χριστός; *câd padmôcan . . . g paṭ sar'avîstâd . . . paṭ nad žanênd paṭ zanakh . . . paṭ ḥô cašm padîšt vafên*(*d*) *'ûṭ vâcênd kûmân fravîn žaḥrdâr Mašîḥâ*, "(a purple) robe (about him and a crown of thorns) put upon his head . . . With a staff they smite his cheeks . . . they spit on the sockets of his eyes and call: 'Our King Messiah.'" Cf. *žmâχ baγânîq 'ažûnt'îštâ par varnû qaṭ par χûtân Yišô' mšîhâ*, "Ye are God's sons through

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faith which is through the Lord Jesus, the Messiah," *Neutestamentliche Bruchstücke in soghdischer Sprache*, *SBAW*, 1907, 46.

(*b*) *Šalom* for Salome: *jê qêrd Maryam Šalôm 'ûṭ 'Arsanî âh kad dô frêštag ô ḥovîn* (*ḥavîn*, Müller) *pûrsênd kû mâ žîvandag 'ad mûrdagân vakhâzêd*, "how Mary Salome and Arsaniah did when two angels spake to them; 'seek not the living with the dead.'"

(*c*) *'êv Šambat*, see above. I fail to see Greek influence except in *'istratiyôtân*, which is plainly a loan word (στρατιῶται); *Qatriyônân vâ 'istratiyôtân 'aj Pîlatîs framân* (*cf.* Ancient Persian, *framānā*, NRa, 6) *'ôh padgrîft*, "as for the centurions and soldiers a command from Pilate was received for them."

(3) *Qarênd dârôbadag* for σταυρωθῆναι: *yîšô' sakhôn* (*sakhvan*, Müller) *'abyâd dârêd jê paṭ Galîlâh 'ô 'ašmâh vî afrâšt, kûm 'abîspârênd 'ûṭ qarênd dârôbadag* (wrongly *dârûbadag*, Müller; *cf.* Bartholomae, *Zum Air. Wb.*, 148) *ḥridig rôj 'aj mûrdân 'akhêzân;* "hold in remembrance the word of Jesus how in Galilee he taught you; 'they will give me over and put me on the cross; the third day I shall rise from the dead.'" The Middle Persian phrase *qarênd dârôbadag* is almost the exact equivalent of the ancient formula *akunavam uzmayāpatiy* which Darius uses in the Behistan Inscription to describe the execution of rebels; *qar* < Ancient Persian *kar; dârô* cf. New Persian *dār*, "wood;" *bad* < Ancient Persian *patiy*.

A philological discussion of these fragments is being prepared for later publication in *Vanderbilt University Studies*.

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PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST

I. PROGRAMME

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 27

FIRST SESSION, 9.30 O'CLOCK

E. B. CLAPP

Λιπαραὶ Ἀθᾶναι, Pindar, frag. 76 (p. liii)

J. T. CLARK

The Expression of Certain Orders of Concepts in Old and Modern French: a Study in Linguistic Progress (p. liii)

J. T. ALLEN

Notes on Aeschylus, *Septem* 495; *Agam.* 539, 1118 (p. lii)

B. P. KURTZ

Aristotle, *Poetics* xxiv, 8–10 (1460 a) (p. lv)

W. F. BADÈ

Not Monotheism, but Mono-Jahwism Asserted in Deuteronomy (p. lii)

SECOND SESSION, 2 O'CLOCK

H. K. SCHILLING

Framea (p. lx)

G. HEMPL

(*a*) Some Burgundian Runic Inscriptions (p. 105)
(*b*) Runic Syllabic Writing (p. liv)

A. T. MURRAY

The Interpretation of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (p. lvi)

J. E. MATZKE

The History of *o* + *palatal nasal* in French

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SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 28

THIRD SESSION, 9 O'CLOCK

G. R. NOYES

Tolstoy's Literary Technique in *The Cossacks* (p. lvii)

C. SEARLES

The *Cid* before the French Academy (p. lxi)

C. PASCHALL

The Semasiology of Eng. *loaf*, Ger. *Laib* (p. lix)

E. FLÜGEL

Report on the *Chaucer Lexicon*

W. M. HART

A Note on the Interpretation of the *Canterbury Tales* (p. liii)

FOURTH SESSION, 2 O'CLOCK

C. G. ALLEN

The Relation of The German *Gregorius auf dem Stein* to the Old French Poem *La Vie de Saint Grégoire* (p. lii)

W. R. R. PINGER

Goethe and his Public (p. lix)

W. A. MERRILL

On Cicero's Acquaintance with Lucretius' Poem (p. lvi)

H. W. PRESCOTT

Studies in the Grouping of Nouns in Plautus (p. lx)

A. L. KROEBER

Compound Nouns in American Languages (p. liv)

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II. MINUTES

The Tenth Annual Meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast was held at the San Francisco Institute of Art, San Francisco, on November 27 and 28, 1908.

First Session

The meeting was called to order at 9.50 A.M. by the President, Professor H. K. Schilling. The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved. The following Treasurer's report was read and accepted: —

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand December 20, 1907	$ 24.86	
Dues and initiation fees	200.00	
		$ 224.86

EXPENDITURES

Sent to Professor Moore (June 5, 1908)	$ 170.00	
Stationery and postage	6.46	
Printing	18.25	
Miscellaneous	.61	
	$ 195.32	
Balance on hand November 27, 1908	29.54	
		$ 224.86

The Chair appointed the following committees: —

Nomination of Officers: Professors Clapp, Johnston, and Mr. Mower.

Time and Place of Next Meeting: Rev. Mr. Brewer, Professors Kroeber and Searles.

Treasurer's Report: Professors Rendtorff, Noyes, and Dr. Linforth.

The number of persons present at this session was twenty-seven.

Second Session

It was voted, in accordance with committee recommendation, that the next annual meeting of the Association should take place at the San Francisco Institute of Art, on the Friday and Saturday following Thanksgiving Day, 1909.

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On motion of Professor Merrill, it was voted that the Executive Committee be instructed to present at the 1909 meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast (which will then have been in existence ten years) a complete roll of its officers, together with a classified list of all papers that have been presented.

The session adjourned in honor of John Henry Wright, the news of whose death had reached the Association. Brief addresses of eulogy were spoken by Professors Merrill, Clapp, and Schilling. It was voted to request the Secretary to send to Mrs. Wright a message of sympathy.

The number of persons present at this session was forty-five.

Third Session

The number of persons present at this session was thirty-two.

Fourth Session

The Committee on Nominations recommended the following officers for 1908–1909: —

President, J. E. Matzke.
Vice-Presidents, C. B. Bradley.
G. Hempl.
Secretary-Treasurer, L. J. Richardson.
Executive Committee, The above-named officers, and
J. T. Allen.
J. E. Church, Jr.
O. M. Johnson.
F. O. Mower.

Election then took place in accordance with the report.

The Committee on Treasurer's Report gave notice that the accounts had been examined and found exact. Adopted.

It was voted, on motion of Professor Flügel, that the Association should subscribe $25.00 toward the research fund being collected in honor of Professor Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf's sixtieth birthday.

A vote of thanks for the use of the building was extended to the San Francisco Institute of Art and to the Regents of the University of California.

A motion was made to make it optional with the President each year as to whether he should deliver before the Association a President's address. The motion was lost.

The number of persons present at this session was thirty.

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Meetings of the Executive Committee

Two meetings of the Executive Committee were held, one November 27 and the other November 28, 1908. The following persons were elected to membership: —

Mr. Reuben C. Thompson, University of Nevada, Reno, Nev.
Dr. W. R. Pinger, University of California, Berkeley.
Mr. Paul Boehnche, University of California, Berkeley.
Professor F. W. Meisnest, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.
Mr. O. M. Washburn, University of California, Berkeley.
Mr. A. L. Guérard, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.
Mr. E. G. Atkin, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal.
Mr. A. van Hemert-Engert, University of California, Berkeley.
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III. ABSTRACTS

1. The Relation of the German *Gregorius auf dem Stein* to the old French Poem *La Vie de Saint Grégoire*, by Dr. C. G. Allen, of the Leland Stanford Jr. University.

Seelisch (*Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 1887, pp. 385–421) claims that "Gregorius auf dem Stein" (*Die deutschen Volksbücher*, XII, 87–113, published by Simrock) is the oldest form of the legend. He does not weaken the generally accepted theory that the version found in the *Gesta Romanorum* (edition by Keller, 1843, pp. 124–133) is a direct or indirect descendant of the old French poem. If this theory is true, the only possible conclusion is that the German version does not have the importance claimed for it by Seelisch, but that it comes from the version found in the *Gesta Romanorum*.

2. Notes on Aeschylus, by Professor James T. Allen, of the University of California.

Septem 495 f. (Weil, Teubner ed):

> ὀφεων δὲ πλεκτάναισι περίδρομον κύτος
> προσηδάφισται κοιλογάστορος κύκλου.

The imagined difficulty of this passage arises from the mistaken notion that κύτος = κοιλότης, whereas, in fact, κύτος here signifies 'bulge,' 'boss,' a meaning entirely ignored by Liddell and Scott. Cf. Hegesias, frg. 3, p. 141, s. Muell.: τὸ δὲ στέαρ καὶ τὸ κύτος τῆς σαρκὸς ἀνέφαινε Βαβυλώνιον ζῷον ἕτερον ἀδρόν. So τὸ κύτος τῆς νεῶς is the 'bulge' or 'bilge,' not the 'hold' of the ship.

Agam. 539: Read χαίρω γε· τεθνάναι δ', οὐδὲν ἀντερῶ, χάρις.
Ib. 1118: στάσις δ' ἀκόρετος γένει
κατολολυξάτω θύματος λευσίμου.

κατολολύζειν does not mean, as usually defined, 'raise a cry over,' '*ingemiscere*,' '*desuper eiulare*,' but rather, 'raise a cry against'; hence the genitive following κατα-. Cf. ἀπέπτυσαν 1192. The murder of Agamemnon will cause a fresh προσβολή τῶν Ἐρινύων; cf. *Cho.* 283.

3. Not Monotheism, but Mono-Jahwism Asserted in Deuteronomy, by Professor W. F. Badè, of the Pacific Theological Seminary.

Most, if not all, of the old Hebrew high-places were originally Canaanite sanctuaries. Each sanctuary claimed its own particular Baal. The baalization of Jahweh-worship led to a syncretism by which the individual Baals were displaced by so many Jahwehs. Deuteronomy is the product of a prophetic movement to suppress this popular polytheism in the form of poly-Jahwism by centralization of worship at one sanctuary. "Hear, O Israel, Jahweh our God is *one* Jahweh" (Dt. 6, 4), was the slogan of the movement. A step in the direction of monotheism. Pure monotheism is not compatible with the theory propounded in Dt. 4, 19, 20, that "foreign" deities actually exist and have been allotted by Jahweh to their respective nations.

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4. Λιπαραὶ Ἀθῆναι, by Professor Edward B. Clapp, of the University of California.

This complimentary expression was much enjoyed by the Athenians. What did they understand by it, and what did Pindar (frag. 76) mean by it? The scholiast to Aristophanes (*Clouds* 299) gives a long list of interpretations, but no one of these is satisfactory. Praise of Attica as a "fat," or fertile, land is out of the question, and a reference to the abundance or excellence of Attic olives is inconsistent with other similar uses of λιπαρός, and unsuitable on other grounds. It is probable that the poet had in mind the purity and brilliance of the Attic *atmosphere*. Cf. Euripides, *Medea* 827 f, Cicero, *de Fato* 7, Dion Chrysostom, *On Royalty* 6 *ad init.*, Aristides Rhet. *Panath.* 161, Photius, *Bibl.* 441 a, 28.

The paper will be published in *Classical Philology*.

5. The Expression of Certain Orders of Concepts in Old and Modern French: a Study in Linguistic Progress, by Professor J. T. Clark, of the University of California.

In this paper were set forth the partial results of an investigation as to the extent to which, in the expression of certain categories of ideas, the tendency towards analytical precision has manifested itself in the evolution of the French vocabulary.

Three types of words were studied: (*a*), expressing a human being as distinguished by habits of speech (of the type *flatterer*, *scold*, *braggart*, and the like); (*b*), expressing physical formation or aspect, as applied to living beings (of the type *pale*, *slender*, *beardless*, and the like); (*c*), expressing movement, in an intransitive sense, as applied to living beings (of the type *plunge*, *stoop*, *stagger*, and the like).

From these three main types certain sub-types were chosen for detailed discussion, and it was shown that in the modern vocabulary the number of synonyms has become greatly reduced and the function of individual words, as regards both application and signification, has become more definitely fixed. It was also shown that owing to an extraordinary freedom and fertility in word-formation, many words are found in the early language, of highly specialized signification, which have not survived in modern French. Sufficient evidence was presented to justify the conclusion that, probably, the tendency toward analytical precision has not only been constant throughout all departments of the French vocabulary, but that this tendency is more strongly marked in French than in most, if not all, other languages, and that as such it is not without significance as reflecting a definite and fundamental tendency of the French temperament.

6. A Note on the Interpretation of the *Canterbury Tales*, by Professor W. M. Hart, of the University of California.

Although unfinished, the *Canterbury Tales* may be profitably studied, not as a series of fragments, but as an organic whole.

The *Framework* (the links and prologues) may be regarded as a sort of drama, for it has a beginning, a middle, and an end, a certain unity, and dialogue form; character and emotion are dramatically suggested by words and actions. Of the

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persons, those relatively low in rank or in morality speak most and dominate the whole. The emotions are developed in a varied series of vivid and realistic incidents. Objective and impersonal as it is, this drama reveals Chaucer's self-consciousness, and his tendencies and interests as a critic of literature and of life.

Of the *Tales* twelve are serious, twelve comic. The latter are more closely related to the framework, and resemble it in matter and in manner. These are the prevailing matter and manner of the *Canterbury Tales*. They are also the matter and manner of the Old French fabliaux, so that the technique of the *Canterbury Tales* is largely a fabliau technique.

Chaucer was, then, a conscious artist, in sympathy with the writers of fabliaux, and largely influenced by this sympathy in the choice and alteration of the material for his tales.

7. Runic Syllabic Writing, by Professor George Hempl, of Stanford University.

Many runic inscriptions have long baffled Germanic scholars. They seem not to consist of real words, for they frequently contain groups of consonants that could not be pronounced in conjunction. The key to the situation is the recognition of the fact that these inscriptions are not written purely phonetically, but in that partially syllabic system that we find in Sanskrit, Venetic, and other ancient scripts. That is, the vowel *a* is not written after a consonant, being a part of the phonetic name of that letter. A virama is found on very few inscriptions. Inscriptions written according to this system will be published soon.

At the close of the paper Professor Hempl presented a brief report on his success in reading the similarly written Venetic inscriptions and the East-Italic (or Old Sabellic) inscriptions. This was made possible in the case of Venetic by the discovery of the true values of the letters hitherto erroneously supposed to be *h* and *ii*; in the case of East-Italic by the recognition of the dot as the letter *o*. Both languages turn out to be Italic dialects belonging to the Oscan-Umbrian group. Details will be published elsewhere in the near future.

8. Compound Nouns in American Languages, by Professor A. L. Kroeber, of the University of California.

Certain languages of the Old World, such as Indo-European, place the determining or subordinate member of non-copulative compound nouns first. Other languages, such as Malayo-Polynesian, place the determining element last in all cases. An examination of some thirty unrelated American languages shows that these generally follow a method of composition different from the two Old World types in that the factor which determines the position of the component elements is primarily not the consideration of their logical relation, but the grammatical circumstance of their respective parts of speech. Most frequently in American languages the determining noun precedes, the determining verb, adjective, or adverb follows, the determining noun element. In some languages the order is the opposite. A number of languages, including the important Uto-Aztekan and Algonkin families, however, do not thus differentiate between their parts of speech

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in composition, but employ the Indo-European order. No American language has yet been found which follows the Malayo-Polynesian order. It follows that analyses and translations of compound words in American languages cannot safely be attempted until the rules governing noun-composition in any particular language in question are known. It also follows that instead of American languages showing a lack of sense of grammatical form through failing to differentiate between noun and verb, as has at times been asserted, they usually differentiate between these parts of speech to a degree which our own languages do not attain.

9. Aristotle, *Poetics* xxiv, 8–10 (1460*a*), by Professor Benjamin P. Kurtz, of the University of California.

(*a*) In the *Poetics* xxiv, 8–10, Aristotle enunciates the first really critical justification of the use of the marvellous in literature. His fragmentary remarks, when carefully analyzed, suggest a triangular foundation of a criticism of the function and development of the marvellous in literature. — (1) Two brief remarks (one, upon the universality of our delight in the wonderful and of its practice by story-tellers; another, concerning the reliance of the wonderful, for its chief effect, upon the irrational) suggest a general psychology of the marvellous, evidently a necessary preliminary to any systematic treatment of the marvellous in literature. In spite of the commonplace character of the two remarks, their impartial, secular recognition of wonder as a factor omnipresent in life and story, and their frank admission of the factor to an impartial inquiry based upon the naturalness of its appearance, form the beginning of a broad psychological attitude, quite free from the moral or religious prejudices which both before and after Aristotle have interfered repeatedly in the realm of criticism. — (2) A second side of the triangular foundation gives the basis for a critical theory of the function of the marvellous in literature. Two aspects of function are suggested: (*a*) variation of function with variation of literary type; (*b*) technique of presentation of the wonderful in relation to belief and to plot. The first aspect is suggested by a remark upon the wonder-capacity of the epic in comparison with other types: the second aspect is broached both by a caution against admitting the irrational, which includes the wonderful, into the plot of a tragedy, and also by the enunciation of three methods of obtaining belief in the marvellous. — (3) The third foundation, suggested by the remark upon Homer as the master and chief teacher of the successful use of the marvellous, is the historical criticism of the wonderful. — These critical foundations are supplemented, in cap. ix, 2–5 (1415 b), by an aesthetic — as distinguished from a moral, religious, or historical — justification of the use of fiction and, therefore, of the marvellous. The justification lies in the higher reality, or poetic truth, of art. In cap. xxv, 17 (1461 b), the impossible is again justified by an appeal to artistic requirements, higher reality, and received opinion.

(*b*) The rise of Aristotle's criticism of the marvellous. Greek literary criticism developed from the expression of moral objections to the irrational and marvellous in Homer. Aristotle's aesthetic justification of the marvellous, therefore, tended to produce the aesthetic liberation of literary criticism itself from religious and philosophical prejudice. The steps leading to this liberation may be traced

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through the following: Early sceptical criticism of Homeric wonders (cf. Solon, Egger, *Hist. Crit. Graec.* 2d. ed., 92; Alcmaeon, *Diog. L.* viii, 83, Diels, *Frag. Vorsokr.* frg. i; Heracleitos, *Diog. L.* ix, 1, Diels, frg. v, cf. cxxviii; Pindar, who anticipates Aristotle's justification by appeal to artistic requirements, *O.* 1, 42 ff., 9, 35 ff., *N.* 7, 20 ff.; Xenophanes, direct charges of anthropomorphism, with distinct mention of certain marvels, Karsten, *Phil. Graec. Vet.* i, frgs. 1, 5, 6, 7, 21); the character of Empedocles illustrates, by its contradictions of rationalism and charlatanism, the opposing forces at work in his century, and forms a suggestive introduction to the vacillating attitude of Plato; for Plato's contradictory utterances, his extension, in *The Republic*, of the moral objection into economic prohibition, and his tempered recommendation of the fabulous for pedagogical purposes, see: *Tim.* 45–46, 71–72; *Laws*, 909–910; *Phaed.* 60; *Laws*, 738, 910; *Tim.* 71; *Phaed.* 81; *Rep.* ii, 365 ff., iii, 386 ff.; *Rep.* ii, 377 c, 382 d; see also Jowett's tr., vol. III, pp. 493–494; cf. 409; v, 322; cf. 28, 296; III, 76; II, 120–121; v, 96, 100, 108, 120, 122, 183, 231, etc.

(*c*) The neglect, since Aristotle, of systematic criticism of the function and development of the marvellous is striking. Among the Greeks, only Plutarch (*How a Young Man Ought to Read Poems*) and Longinus (*de Sub.*; cf. Dem. Phalereus, *de Elocut.* 52, 124–127, 157, 158) continued the new work. On the other hand, allegorical interpretation, Euhemerism, Neo-Platonism, and rhetorical criticism retarded the aesthetic liberation so well begun. Furthermore, most of modern criticism has been unsystematic — the mere expression of taste — as, for instance, the renaissance criticism gathered about the epics of Ariosto and Tasso; the English eighteenth century, represented by Dryden's essay upon the epic; and the French compilers of more or less slavish *Poetics*, represented by Boileau. The most encouraging work since Longinus is that of some of the German aestheticians and of the ethnologists.

10. On Cicero's Acquaintance with Lucretius' Poem, by Professor W. A. Merrill, of the University of California.

There is no internal evidence in the extant writings of Cicero that he had ever read the poem, or that he was influenced in the slightest degree by Lucretius. The coincidences may be referred to well-known Epicurean principles.

This paper will be printed in the *University of California Publications.*

11. The Interpretation of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, by Professor A. T. Murray, of the Leland Stanford Jr. University.

In this paper, a part of which only was read, the writer discussed the problem of the *Agamemnon* with a view to determining the poet's essential meaning. It was held that the play, which must be studied as a part of the larger whole, the trilogy, treats of the fortunes and death of Agamemnon, not as an illustration of the workings either of a divine justice, which by the king's death avenges the

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sacrifice of Iphigenia, or of a blind fate, which removes all responsibility from the individual; but as a chapter in the history of a house upon which a curse rested. By this, in the opinion of the writer, is to be understood an expression of the poet's consciousness that one of the awful facts of sin is its tendency to perpetuate itself; so that here, too, we are far from a blind fatalism. This view was supported by a discussion of the poet's attitude toward his art, but it entailed also a study of his moral and religious ideas, since they are closely involved in such a treatment of his theme. At the same time stress was laid upon the fact that Aeschylus wrote as an artist, not as a preacher, and that we have no warrant for the assumption that a definite religious or theological conception is of fundamental importance for the interpretation of his work as a whole.

In particular the paper discussed the significance of the portent of the eagles and the hare in the first chorus, and emphasized the fact that a distinction must be made between the meaning that sign could have had for Agamemnon at the time and the meaning that could be read into it after the sacrifice of Iphigenia had taken place. It could not possibly have been understood by the king as a warning, nor could he imagine that Calchas was referring to the dark deed that was so soon to follow.

12. Tolstoy's Literary Technique in *The Cossacks*, by Professor G. R. Noyes, of the University of California.

Leo Tolstoy's novel, *The Cossacks* (1852–61), in its contents somewhat resembles Pushkin's poem, *The Prisoner of the Caucasus* (1821), the parallelism being so marked as to suggest that, consciously or unconsciously, the novelist had the poem before his mind when writing. Tolstoy based his story, however, on his own experience in the Caucasus (1851–53), and in his handling of the subject showed the most characteristic features of his realistic technique. A comparison of the two works will illustrate some peculiarities of Tolstoy's literary methods.

In *The Prisoner of the Caucasus* Pushkin wrote under the direct influence of Byron, and composed a tale of the same type as *The Corsair*, *The Bride of Abydos*, and *The Siege of Corinth*. A gloomy, "disenchanted" Russian officer, held captive by the wild Circassian mountaineers, inspires love in the daughter of a Circassian chief. When she confesses her innocent passion to him, he replies that his misanthropic spirit cannot respond to her pure affection. The girl thereupon sets him free, aids him to escape across the Terek, and then drowns herself from grief.

Tolstoy tells how a young Russian officer, Olenin, comes to live among the half-savage Cossacks dwelling near the Circassians, with whom they are constantly at war, and whom they resemble in manners and morals. Olenin is attracted by Maryana, the strong, beautiful daughter of his Cossack landlord, and determines that on a marriage with her depends all his happiness. Maryana, though betrothed to a gallant young Cossack, Lukashka, seems for a time to favor Olenin. Lukashka is killed in a skirmish. Olenin shortly after tries to approach Maryana, but she drives him from her in a burst of "disgust, contempt, and fury." Olenin returns home, conscious of defeat and humiliation, leaving the Cossack community unmindful of his existence. Thus in plot the novel is the converse of the poem.

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The contrast in character-drawing is equally marked. Pushkin's hero and heroine are feebly Byronic young persons, intended to inspire admiration and wonder. Olenin, Tolstoy's hero, though at odds with civilized life, has no touch of Byronic misanthropy. In his frank, cheerful aspirations for a clean, healthy life, and in his perpetual stumbling and failure, he represents Tolstoy himself, being one of his many autobiographic heroes. He is made ludicrous, and yet worthy of respect and sympathy. His beloved Maryana, unlike Pushkin's shadowy but eloquent heroine, is concrete to a degree. She is a person of deeds, not words; a clever hand at shoveling dung, but monosyllabic of speech. She is chaste and pure, but not averse to being kissed by her lover, and, on occasions, by others also.

Pushkin gives his hero and heroine almost a clear field; Tolstoy devotes pages to descriptions of the life of the Cossacks, drunken, lying, lustful as they are, but withal brave, self-respecting, natural human animals, untroubled by any of the moral reflections that perplex Olenin.

Pushkin adorns his poem with glowing descriptions of the awe-inspiring beauty of the Caucasus. Tolstoy, in his two hundred pages, gives but one description of the mountains, and that is at the very opening of the book. There he tells how the long line of snow-capped summits impresses the soul of the young Russian who is just coming to dwell among them. Here, as everywhere in his work, Tolstoy is not interested in nature for its own sake, but for the effect it produces on human beings. Later, Tolstoy describes the dry bed of the Terek in summer, with its muddy pools, and the swamps, with their thousands of stinging gnats, rather than the distant peaks of the Caucasus.

In a word, Tolstoy avoided giving the slightest romantic coloring to this tale of wild life. It is at least probable that he was influenced by a definite, conscious opposition to the conception of the Caucasus found in the romantic poets Pushkin and Lermontov, and that he made his novel the counterpart to one of Pushkin's most familiar poems. The following passages, the first telling of Olenin's reflections as he approached the Caucasus, and the second of other reflections near the close of his stay there, lend some support to this theory: —

"His imagination now was in the future, in the Caucasus. All his dreams of the future were connected with pictures of Amalát-bek [character in a romantic novel by Bestúzhev-Marlínsky], Circassian maidens, mountains, avalanches, terrible torrents, and perils. All that presented itself in a dim and indistinct shape; but enticing glory and threatening death formed the chief interest of that future." (Tolstoy, *Works*, translated by Leo Wiener, II, ch. 2, p. 93.)

"The Caucasus presented itself to him quite differently from what he had imagined it to be. He had found nothing resembling all his dreams and all the descriptions of the Caucasus of which he had heard or read.

"'There are no chestnut steeds, no cataracts, no Amalát-beks, no heroes, and no brigands,' he thought. 'People live here as does Nature; they die, they are born, they pair, again they are born, they fight, they drink, they eat, they have pleasure, and again they die; and there are no conditions, except those unchangeable ones which Nature has imposed upon the sun, the grass, the beasts, and the trees. They have no other laws.'" (*Ib.* p. 232.)

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13. The Semasiology of Eng. *loaf*, Ger. *Laib*, by Mr. C. Paschall, of the University of California.

The paper proposes O.I. *cliaḃ* (basket) as cognate with Goth. *hlaifs*, O.H.G. *hleib*, *leip*, O.E. *hlāf*, O.N. *hleifr*, etc. The Germanic words point to a primitive Germanic **χlaiḃas*<**χloiḃos*, which could in turn go back to I.E. **klōibhos*. *Cliaḃ* can go back to I.E. **klēibh-*, which would stand to **klōibh-* in the ablaut relation of present to perfect. Relationship in meaning is defended on the theory that we have preserved in *cliaḃ* the name of a vessel in which "bread" was prepared. The loaf was therefore that which was "basketed," *i.e.* cooked in a basket.

In confirmation of this theory we have in O.N. *hlíf* (a shield — originally made of wicker-work), the connection of which with *cliaḃ* has been pointed out by Zupitza, *B. B.* XXV, 94, and going back to the primitive noun represented by *cliaḃ* and *hlíf* we have Goth. *hleibjan*, O.H.G. *lîban*, and O.N. *hlífa*, all of which have meanings growing out of the fundamental conception "to shield — to cover or protect with that which is made of wicker-work." We have, then, in *hlaifs*, etc., a perfect to this denominative verb.

In Lat. *lībum* we have the same word as Goth. *hlaifs*. We must assume, however, that it goes back to **s-kloibhom*<**s-klōibhom*. In Greek κλίβανος we have the "Schwundstufe" to **klēib-* (with final media instead of aspirate). The development in meaning from "basket" to "a pot in which bread was baked" offers no difficulty.

The I.E. root **klēi* also occurs with a dental ending in O.I. *cliath* (a hurdle of wattles) and in Goth. *hleithra* (a hut — made originally of wattles), and the parallel between these words and *cliaḃ* and *hlíf* should remove all doubt as to the relationship of the latter. The root appears also in words identical in meaning, but having different root determinatives, as in Goth. *hlaiw*, Lat. *clīvus*, and Goth. *hlains* (all meaning "hill") and O.I. *sliaḃ* (meaning "mountain"), in which words, however, the root appears in the older meaning of "to lean," "to incline." O.I. *sliaḃ* clearly goes back to I.E. **s-kleibho-*, and having the moveable *s*-prefix, it materially strengthens the explanation adopted for Lat. *lībum*.

14. Goethe and his Public, by Dr. W. R. R. Pinger, of the University of California.

Goethe's relation to his public has been treated by his biographers in a manner either quite inadequate or altogether one-sided, considering the important nature of the subject. The idea which has hitherto prevailed in all the recognized biographical works on Goethe, that he despised public opinion, and was indifferent to popularity, is based on a very few detached quotations.

Although this proposition could be easily refuted by random references from his complete works, especially from his letters, yet the contrary view would be erroneous. The safer and truer course in the matter, and that deduced from an exhaustive study of his works, is "the golden mean," — namely, that he scolded or praised his public according to its deserts, and that any seeming inconsistencies in his views were due to the response of a peculiarly sensitive temperament to its environment.

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This paper is part of a larger study, which will appear, under the title of *Der junge Goethe und sein Publikum*, in the Modern Language Series of the *University of California Publications*.

15. Studies in the Grouping of Nouns in Plautus, by Professor H. W. Prescott, of the University of California.

The results of the studies point to a compromise between a racial sensitiveness to logical arrangement and an individual sensitiveness to sound-effects. In this compromise is found the explanation of apparently illogical groupings. Comic incongruity, the character of the speaker, the situation, the fact that conscious artistic expression was as yet in its beginnings, are factors to be reckoned with, but in the main the poet's personality is the controlling factor. Only the larger groups of more than three members were discussed, and the passages chosen for illustration were: *Aul.* 373 ff., *Capt.* 846 ff., *Most.* 46, *Men.* 75, *Poen.* 832, *Bacch.* 115, 892, *Capt.* 770, *Bacch.* 255, *Merc.* 859, 844 ff.

This paper appears in full in *Classical Philology*, IV (1909), 1–24.

16. *Framea*, by Professor H. K. Schilling, of the University of California.

The arguments advanced by Klemm (*Handbuch der germanischen Altertumskunde*, 1836, pp. 241 ff.) and others, and most recently by von Schubert-Soldern (*Zeitschrift für historische Waffenkunde*, III, 337 ff.), in support of the theory that the celt or palstave served as the blade of the *framea* (Tacitus, *Germania*, 6), are marred by fatal defects of method. All of them do violence to the text of Tacitus, suiting its interpretation to a preconceived idea, begging the question in matters of doubt, and ignoring the context which proves that *ferrum* specifically means "iron," not "blade," nor, as others would have it, "metal" in general. Some of the arguments are based upon glosses of the eighth and ninth centuries, when the word *framea* had long since ceased to exist in living speech and was preserved only in the Vulgate and in clerical commentaries, with a changed meaning; the inferences drawn from these glosses are, moreover, refuted by other glosses of equal age. Other arguments operate with the vaguest chronological conceptions, such as were pardonable only with the earlier writers, in the first stages of archaeological inquiry; terms like "germanische Frühzeit" are made to include both the time of Tacitus and the Carlovingian era, and on the other hand conditions characteristic of the Bronze Age are assumed as existing in the Germany known to Tacitus.

Apart from these fundamental defects the reasoning supporting the celt-framea theory is found to be unsound in detail. The theory originated two centuries ago in an attempt to account for the great number of bronze celts found; since then their prevalence among the early bronze implements has been fully explained by conclusive proof of the various uses to which they were put in peace and in war, chiefly as blades of hatchets and axes. The evolution of the axe is demonstrated in all its phases by actual finds as well as pictorial representations; and the place of the celt in this evolution is definitely determined. On the other hand,

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early pictorial representations of men armed with spears show only *pointed* spearheads; and such spearheads are common among the relics of all prehistoric ages. The fact that in numerous graves they are found together with celts is additional presumptive evidence that these two articles belonged to essentially different weapons. The great mass of celts belong to the Bronze Age, which, in Germanic territory, terminated abruptly several centuries before Christ, through Celtic influence; the characteristic form of the bronze celt disappears in the Iron Age after a period of limited reproduction in the new metal. Even if, in the Bronze Age, the celt had actually been used as a spearhead, it would still be inconceivable that a warlike race like the Teutons should have retained such an antiquated implement as their principal, and in most cases only, weapon down to the time of Tacitus, through centuries of contact, in peace and in war, with better-armed Celts and Romans.

The celt-framea theory is untenable from a technical, military point of view as well. A spear with a broad, chisel-shaped head would at best have much less penetrating power than a pointed weapon; but the position of the celts in graves shows that their shafts cannot have been more than three or four feet long; and such a weapon, so far from being *cruenta* and *victrix* (*Germ.* 14), would be absurdly ineffective, and as the sole equipment of a mounted warrior (*Germ.* 6) simply impossible. Over against this fact and the overwhelming mass of evidence against the celt-framea theory generally, the discovery of half a dozen celts actually fitted with straight shafts suggests nothing more than an occasional makeshift for lack of a real spearhead.

The etymology of *framea* does not throw any light upon the problem in hand. Müllenhoff was undoubtedly right in connecting the word with Germanic **fram*, "forward," but he erred in denying its derivation from the verb **framjan*; numerous proper names with *Framn-*, or *Framm-*, *Frann-*, as their first component element show that the Latin *framea* did not stand for a Germanic *jô*-stem like Goth. *sibja*, etc., but for an *n*-stem, a masculine *nomen agentis*, Germ. **framejo*, **framjo*; the fact that it appears in Latin as a feminine in *-a* presents, of course, no difficulty.

This paper will appear in full in the *Zeitschrift für historische Waffenkunde.*

17. The *Cid* before the French Academy, by Professor C. Searles, of the Leland Stanford Jr. University.

Untrustworthiness of Pellisson's narrative in the *Histoire de l'Académie Française*, vol. I, pp. 86–98, Livet's edition. Proof that Corneille did not give his consent to the Academy's intervention until their deliberations had been under way for some time. A reconstruction of the history of the Academy's relations to the *Cid* and the *Observations sur le Cid de Scudéry* from the time when the *Observations* were presented to the Academy to the more active intervention of the Cardinal Richelieu in July several weeks later. Evidence that at first the Academy felt little hesitation in undertaking this work until opposition in the Parlement de Paris showed to the members of the former body the gravity of the undertaking upon which they were engaged.

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The Bibliographical Record — a very incomplete list of the publications of the members, as returned by themselves — aims to include not only publications that are distinctly philological in character, but also those that deal with the educational aspects of the study of language and literature.

ABBREVIATIONS

AHR — American Historical Review.
AJA — American Journal of Archaeology.
AJP — American Journal of Philology.
AJSL — American Journal of Semitic Languages.
AJT — American Journal of Theology.
Archiv — Archiv für latein. Lexikographie.
Bookm. — The Bookman.
CJ — Classical Journal.
CP — Classical Philology.
CQ — Classical Quarterly.
CR — Classical Review.
CSCP — Cornell Studies in Classical Philology.
CW — Classical Weekly.
ER — Educational Review.
GWUB — George Washington University Bulletin.
HSCP — Harvard Studies in Classical Philology.
HSPL — Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature.
IF — Indogermanische Forschungen.
JAOS — Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JBL — Journal of Biblical Literature.
JEGP — Journal of English and Germanic Philology.
JHUC — Johns Hopkins University Circulars.
MLA — Publications of the Modern Language Association.
MLN — Modern Language Notes.
MP — Modern Philology.
Nat. — The Nation.
PAA — Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.
PAPA — Proceedings of the American Philological Association.
PUB — Princeton University Bulletin.
SER — Southern Educational Review.
SR — School Review.
TAPA — Transactions of the American Philological Association.
UMS — University of Michigan Studies.
UPB — University of Pennsylvania Bulletin.
VUS — Vanderbilt University Studies.
WRUB — Western Reserve University Bulletin.

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* Prof. C. B. Bradley, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2639 Durant Ave.). 1900.
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Prof. George H. Chase, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (11 Kirkland Rd.). 1899.
Prof. S. R. Cheek, Centre College of Kentucky, Danville, Ky. 1890.
* Prof. J. E. Church, Jr., University of Nevada, Reno, Nev. 1901.
* Prof. Edward B. Clapp, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1886.
Prof. Charles Upson Clark, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (473 Edgewood Ave.). 1905.
Miss Emma Kirkland Clark, 545 A Quincy St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1896.
Prof. Frank Lowry Clark, Miami University, Oxford, O. 1902.
* Prof. John T. Clark, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2214 Russell St.). 1906.
Dr. Sereno Burton Clark, 413 Emmet St., Ypsilanti, Mich. 1907.
Prof. Harold Loomis Cleasby, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. (415 University Place). 1905.
Prof. Charles Nelson Cole, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O. 1902.
Prof. Hermann Collitz, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1887.
William T. Colville, Carbondale, Pa. 1884.
Prof. Elisha Conover, Delaware College, Newark, Del. 1897.
Edmund C. Cook, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. 1904.
Dr. Arthur Stoddard Cooley, 387 Central St., Auburndale, Mass. 1896.
J. Randolph Coolidge, Jr., Chestnut Hill, Mass. 1884.
* Prof. W. A. Cooper, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Palo Alto, Cal. (1111 Emerson St.). 1901.
Dr. Mario E. Cosenza, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. 1908.
* J. Allen De Cou, Monrovia, Cal. 1900.
Prof. William L. Cowles, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1888.
Prof. W. H. Crogman, Clark University, South Atlanta, Ga. 1898.
William L. Cushing, Westminster School, Simsbury, Conn. 1888.
* Ludwig J. Demeter, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (1300 Grove St.). 1903.
T. S. Denison, 163 Randolph St., Chicago, Ill. 1908.
Prof. William K. Denison, Tufts College, Mass. 1899.
Prof. Walter Dennison, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1899.
Prof. Samuel C. Derby, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. 1895.
* Monroe E. Deutsch, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1904.

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Prof. Norman W. DeWitt, Victoria College, Toronto, Can. 1907.
Sherwood Owen Dickerman, 140 Cottage St., New Haven, Conn. 1902.
Prof. Benjamin L. D'Ooge, State Normal College, Ypsilanti, Mich. 1895.
Prof. Martin L. D'Ooge, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1873.
Prof. Louis H. Dow, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1895.
Prof. Joseph H. Drake, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1907.
Prof. William Prentiss Drew, Knox College, Galesburg, Ill. 1907.
Prof. Eli Dunkle, Ohio University, Athens, O. 1904.
Prof. Frederic Stanley Dunn, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore. 1899.
* Prof. Robert Dupouey, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2301 Hearst Ave.). 1906.
Prof. Charles L. Durham, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1906.
Miss Emily Helen Dutton, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. (37 Green Hall). 1898.
Prof. Frederick Carlos Eastman, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. 1907.
Prof. Herman L. Ebeling, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y. 1892.
Prof. William S. Ebersole, Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Ia. 1893.
Prof. W. A. Eckels, Shippensburg, Pa. 1894.
Prof. George V. Edwards, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. 1901.
Prof. Katharine M. Edwards, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1893.
Dr. Philip H. Edwards, Baltimore City College, Baltimore, Md. 1907.
Prof. James C. Egbert, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1889.
Prof. Wallace Stedman Elden, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. (1734 Summit St.). 1900.
Prof. A. Marshall Elliott, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1884.
Prof. W. A. Elliott, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa. 1897.
Prof. Herbert C. Elmer, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1887.
* Prof. J. Elmore, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Palo Alto, Cal. (1134 Emerson St.). 1900.
Prof. Levi Henry Elwell, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1883.
Miss E. Antoinette Ely, The Clifton School, Cincinnati, O. 1893.
Prof. Edgar A. Emens, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1895.
Prof. Robert B. English, Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pa. 1905.
Prof. George Taylor Ettinger, Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pa. 1896.
Principal O. Faduma, Peabody Academy, Troy, N. C. 1900.
Dr. Arthur Fairbanks, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1886.
* Prof. H. Rushton Fairclough, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1887.
Prof. Edwin W. Fay, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. 1889.
Pres. Thomas Fell, St. John's College, Annapolis, Md. 1888.
Prof. W. S. Ferguson, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
Principal F. J. Fessenden, Fessenden School, West Newton, Mass. 1890.
Prof. Mervin G. Filler, Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa. 1905.
Prof. George Converse Fiske, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. (616 Lake St.). 1900.
Prof. Edward Fitch, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y. 1890.

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Everett Henry Fitch, 148 Whalley Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1906.

Prof. Thomas Fitz-Hugh, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. (Life member). 1902.

William Alexander Fleet, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1907.

Miss Caroline R. Fletcher, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1906.

Prof. Roy C. Flickinger, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. (718 Clark St.). 1905.

Miss Helen C. Flint, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1897.

* Prof. Ewald Flügel, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1900.

Francis H. Fobes, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1908.

Prof. Charles H. Forbes, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. 1907.

* Prof. Benjamin O. Foster, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1899.

Prof. Frank H. Fowler, Lombard College, Galesburg, Ill. 1893.

Prof. Harold N. Fowler, Western Reserve University (College for Women), Cleveland, O. 1885.

Miss Susan Fowler, The Brearley School, New York, N. Y. (17 W. 44th St.). 1904.

Prof. Tenney Frank, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1906.

Dr. Susan B. Franklin, Ethical Culture School, 63d St. and Central Park West, New York, N. Y. 1890.

Walter H. Freeman, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1908.

* Prof. P. J. Frein, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. (4317, 15th Ave.). 1900.

* Prof. John Fryer, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2620 Durant Ave.). 1900.

Prof. Charles Kelsey Gaines, St. Lawrence University, Canton, N. Y. 1890.

John S. Galbraith, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1907.

* Dr. John Gamble, Haywards, Cal. 1902.

Prof. J. B. Game, Normal School, Cape Girardeau, Mo. 1907.

Principal Seth K. Gifford, Moses Brown School, Providence, R. I. 1891.

Prof. Basil L. Gildersleeve, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1876.

Walter H. Gillespie, Cheshire School, Cheshire, Conn. 1908.

Pedro Ramon Gillott, Wyoming Seminary, Kingston, Pa. 1906.

* Charles B. Gleason, High School, San José, Cal. 1900.

Clarence Willard Gleason, Volkmann School, Boston, Mass. (6 Waverly St., Roxbury). 1901.

* Dr. Pliny E. Goddard, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2523 Hilgard Ave.). 1902.

Prof. Julius Goebel, Cambridge, Mass. 1900.

Prof. Thomas D. Goodell, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (35 Edgehill Road). 1883.

Prof. Charles J. Goodwin, Lehigh University, So. Bethlehem, Pa. 1891.

Prof. William W. Goodwin, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (5 Follen St.). 1870.

Miss Florence A. Gragg, 26 Maple Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1906.

Prof. Roscoe Allan Grant, De Witt Clinton High School, New York, N. Y. (60 West 13th St.). 1902.

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* Walter H. Graves, High School, Oakland, Cal. (1428 Seventh Ave.). 1900.
Dr. W. D. Gray, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1907.
Prof. E. L. Green, South Carolina College, Columbia, S. C. 1898.
Prof. Herbert Eveleth Greene, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1890.
* Miss Rebecca T. Greene, Palo Alto, Cal. (721 Webster St.). 1900.
Prof. Wilber J. Greer, Washburn College, Topeka, Kan. 1892.
* Prof. James O. Griffin, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. (Box 144). 1896.
Dr. Alfred Gudeman, Franz Josefstrasse 12, Munich, Germany. 1889.
Dr. Roscoe Guernsey, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1902.
Prof. Charles Burton Gulick, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (59 Fayerweather St.). 1894.
Dr. Richard Mott Gummere, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. 1907.
Miss Grace Guthrie, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1906.
Dr. George D. Hadzsits, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1904.
Dr. Walter D. D. Hadzsits, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1904.
* Prof. A. S. Haggett, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1901.
Miss Elizabeth Hazelton Haight, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1902.
Prof. William Gardner Hale, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1882.
Prof. Arthur P. Hall, Drury College, Springfield, Mo. 1886.
Prof. F. A. Hall, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. (531 Spring Ave.). 1896.
Frank T. Hallett, Cathedral School of St. Paul, Garden City, L. I., N. Y. 1902.
Prof. T. F. Hamblin, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa. 1895.
Prof. H. A. Hamilton, Elmira College, Elmira, N. Y. 1895.
Principal John Calvin Hanna, High School, Oak Park, Ill. (209 South East Ave.). 1896.
Prof. Albert Granger Harkness, Brown University, Providence, R. I. 1896.
Prof. Austin Morris Harmon, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1907.
Prof. Karl P. Harrington, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. 1892.
Prof. W. A. Harris, Richmond College, Richmond, Va. (1606 West Grace St.). 1895.
Prof. William Fenwick Harris, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (8 Mercer Circle). 1901.
Prof. J. E. Harry, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O. 1896.
Dr. Carl A. Harström, The Folly, Norwalk, Conn. 1900.
Prof. Samuel Hart, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1871.
* Prof. Walter Morris Hart, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2255 Piedmont Ave.). 1903.
Eugene W. Harter, Erasmus Hall High School, Brooklyn, N. Y. (121 Marlborough Road). 1901.
Prof. Harold Ripley Hastings, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1905.
Prof. Adeline Belle Hawes, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1902.
Dr. Edward Southworth Hawes, Polytechnic Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1888.
Rev. Dr. Henry H. Haynes, 6 Ellery St., Cambridge, Mass. 1900.
Prof. Frances M. Hazen, Box 573, Middletown, Conn. 1896.
Eugene A. Hecker, 67 Oxford St., Cambridge, Mass. 1907.
Prof. W. A. Heidel, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. 1900.

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Prof. F. B. R. Hellems, State University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo. 1900.
Prof. Otto Heller, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1896.
Nathan Wilbur Helm, Phillips Exeter Academy, 3 Marston Place, Exeter, N. H. 1900.
* Prof. George Hempl, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1895.
Prof. Archer Wilmot Hendrick, Whitman College, Walla Walla, Wash. 1904.
Prof. George L. Hendrickson, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1892.
Prof. John H. Hewitt, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1886.
Prof. Joseph William Hewitt, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. 1905.
Edwin H. Higley, Groton School, Groton, Mass. 1899.
Prof. Henry T. Hildreth, Roanoke College, Salem, Va. 1896.
Prof. James M. Hill, Central High School, Philadelphia, Pa. 1900.
Dr. Gertrude Hirst, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1902.
Harwood Hoadley, 140 West 13th St., New York, N. Y. 1903.
Prof. Helen Elisabeth Hoag, Mt. Holyoke College, So. Hadley, Mass. 1907.
Archibald L. Hodges, Wadleigh High School, 114th St., near 7th Ave., New York, N. Y. 1899.
* Miss F. Hodgkinson, Lowell High School, San Francisco, Cal. 1903.
Prof. Arthur W. Hodgman, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. (325 West 10th Ave.). 1896.
Prof. Charles Hoeing, University of Rochester, Rochester, N. Y. 1899.
Prof. Horace A. Hoffman, University of Indiana, Bloomington, Ind. 1893.
Dr. D. H. Holmes, Eastern District High School, Brooklyn, N. Y. (878 Driggs Ave.). 1900.
Prof. W. D. Hooper, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga. 1894.
Prof. E. Washburn Hopkins, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (299 Lawrence St.). 1883.
Prof. Joseph Clark Hoppin, 304 Sears Bld., Boston, Mass. 1900.
Dr. Herbert Pierrepont Houghton, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1907.
Prof. William A. Houghton, Brunswick, Me. 1892.
Prof. Albert A. Howard, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (12 Walker St.). 1892.
Prof. George E. Howes, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1896.
Prof. Frank G. Hubbard, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1896.
Prof. J. H. Huddilston, University of Maine, Orono, Me. 1898.
Prof. Walter Hullihen, Grant University, Chattanooga, Tenn. 1904.
Prof. Milton W. Humphreys, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. 1871.
Stephen A. Hurlbut, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1903.
Prof. Richard Wellington Husband, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1907.
Dr. George B. Hussey, East Orange, N. J. 1887.
Prof. Frederick L. Hutson, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1902.
Prin. Maurice Hutton, University College, Toronto, Can. 1908.
Prof. J. W. D. Ingersoll, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (139 York St.). 1897.
Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1884.
Dr. Carl Newell Jackson, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (24 Beck Hall). 1905.

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Prof. George E. Jackson, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. (4400 Morgan St.). 1890.

Prof. M. W. Jacobus, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1893.

Prof. Hans C. G. von Jagemann, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (113 Walker St.). 1882.

* M. C. James, High School, Berkeley, Cal. 1900.

Dr. Charles W. L. Johnson, 10 South St., Baltimore, Md. 1897.

Prof. William H. Johnson, Denison University, Granville, O. 1895.

Prof. Eva Johnston, University of the State of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1902.

Prof. George W. Johnston, University of Toronto, Toronto, Can. 1895.

* Prof. Oliver M. Johnston, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1900.

Prof. Charles Hodge Jones, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1906.

Dr. Horace L. Jones, Virginia Institute, Bristol, Va.-Tenn. 1908.

Prof. J. C. Jones, University of the State of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1902.

* Winthrop L. Keep, Mills College, Alameda Co., Cal. 1900.

Prof. George Dwight Kellogg, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. (10 Nassau St.). 1897.

Prof. Francis W. Kelsey, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1890.

Dr. Roland G. Kent, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (College Hall). 1903.

Prof. David R. Keys, University College, Toronto, Can. 1908.

Prof. John B. Kieffer, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa. 1889.

Prof. William Hamilton Kirk, Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N. J. 1898.

Prof. J. C. Kirtland, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. 1895.

Prof. George Lyman Kittredge, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (9 Hilliard St.). 1884.

Dr. William H. Klapp, Academy of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1324 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1894.

Prof. Charles Knapp, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. (1737 Sedgwick Ave.). 1892.

Charles S. Knox, St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H. 1889.

Miss Lucile Kohn, 1138 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1905.

* Dr. Alfred L. Kroeber, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1902.

Prof. William H. Kruse, Fort Wayne, Ind. 1905.

* Dr. Benjamin P. Kurtz, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1906.

Prof. Gordon J. Laing, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1907.

Prof. A. G. Laird, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1890.

Prof. William A. Lamberton, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.

* Prof. A. F. Lange, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2629 Haste St.). 1900.

Prof. W. B. Langsdorf, 131 W. Mound St., Circleville, O. 1895.

Prof. Charles R. Lanman, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (9 Farrar St.). 1877.

Lewis H. Lapham, 8 Bridge St., New York, N. Y. 1880.

Prof. William Cranston Lawton, Adelphi College, Brooklyn, N. Y. (224 Willoughby Ave.). 1888.

Prof. Abby Leach, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1888.

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Dr. Arthur G. Leacock, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. 1899.
Dr. Emory B. Lease, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. (502 West 151st St.). 1895.
Prof. David Russell Lee, Central College, Fayette, Mo. 1907.
Dr. Winfred G. Leutner, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. 1905.
Prof. Thomas B. Lindsay, Boston University, Boston, Mass. 1880.
* Dr. Ivan M. Linforth, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2742 Derby St.). 1903.
Prof. Charles Edgar Little, University of Nashville, Nashville, Tenn. 1902.
Miss Dale Livingstone, State Normal School, California, Pa. 1902.
Prof. Gonzalez Lodge, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1888.
Prof. O. F. Long, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. 1900.
F. M. Longanecker, High School, Charleston, W. Va. 1906.
Prof. George D. Lord, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1887.
D. O. S. Lowell, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass. 1894.
Prof. Frederick Lutz, Albion College, Albion, Mich. 1883.
Prof. Nelson G. McCrea, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1890.
Prof. Walton Brooks McDaniel, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. (College Hall). 1901.
Prof. J. H. McDaniels, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y. 1871.
Miss Mary B. McElwain, Sage College, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1908.
Prof. A. St. Clair Mackenzie, State College of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky. (Life member). 1901.
Prof. George F. McKibben, Denison University, Granville, O. 1885.
Miss Harriett E. McKinstry, Lake Erie College, Painesville, O. 1881.
Dr. Charlotte F. McLean, Birmingham School, Birmingham, Pa. 1906.
Pres. George E. MacLean, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. (603 College St.). 1891.
Prof. Donald Alexander MacRae, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1907.
Prof. Grace H. Macurdy, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1894.
Robert L. McWhorter, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga. 1906.
Prof. David Magie, Jr., Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. (12 Nassau St.). 1901.
Dr. Ralph Van Deman Magoffin, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1908.
Dr. H. W. Magoun, 70 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass. 1891.
Prof. John D. Maguire, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. 1906.
Pres. J. H. T. Main, Iowa College, Grinnell, Ia. 1891.
Prof. J. Irving Manatt, Brown University, Providence, R. I. (15 Keene St.). 1875.
Prof. John M. Manly, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1896.
Prof. Richard Clarke Manning, Kenyon College, Gambier, O. 1905.
Prof. F. A. March, Sr., Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. 1869.
Prof. Allan Marquand, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1891.
* Prof. E. Whitney Martin, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Palo Alto, Cal. (727 Cowper St.). 1903.
Dr. Winfred R. Martin, Hispanic Society of America, 156th St., West of Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1879.

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Miss Ellen F. Mason, 1 Walnut St., Boston, Mass. 1885.
* Miss Gertrude H. Mason, Berkeley, Cal. (2627 Channing Way). 1906.
Dr. Maurice W. Mather, 9 Maple St., Exeter, N. H. 1894.
* Prof. John E. Matzke, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. (Box 105). 1900.
Prof. Clarence Linton Meader, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1902.
Clarence W. Mendell, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1908.
Prof. Frank Ivan Merchant, Iowa State Normal School, Cedar Falls, Ia. (1928 Normal St.). 1898.
Ernest Loren Meritt, 140 S. Main St., Gloversville, N. Y. 1903.
Prof. Elmer Truesdell Merrill, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1883.
* Prof. William A. Merrill, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2609 College Ave.). 1886.
Dr. Truman Michelson, Ridgefield, Conn. (R. F. D. 48). 1900.
Prof. Alfred W. Milden, Emory and Henry College, Emory, Va. 1903.
Prof. C. W. E. Miller, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1892.
Prof. Walter Miller, Tulane University, New Orleans, La. 1900.
Prof. Clara Millerd, Iowa College, Grinnell, Ia. 1902.
Dr. Richard A. v. Minckwitz, De Witt Clinton High School, New York, N. Y. (Amsterdam Ave. and 102d St.). 1895.
Charles A. Mitchell, Asheville School, Asheville, N. C. 1893.
Prof. Annie Sybil Montague, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1906.
Prof. Clifford Herschel Moore, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (112 Brattle St.). 1889.
Prof. Frank Gardner Moore, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1888.
Prof. George F. Moore, Berlin, Germany. 1885.
Prof. J. Leverett Moore, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1887.
Prof. Warren I. Moore, Ouachita College, Arkadelphia, Ark. 1908.
Paul E. More, 260 W. 99th St., New York, N. Y. 1896.
Prof. Morris H. Morgan, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (45 Garden St.). 1887.
Prof. Edward P. Morris, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (53 Edgehill Road). 1886.
Prof. Charles M. Moss, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. 1907.
Prof. Lewis F. Mott, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. 1898.
* Francis O. Mower, High School, Napa, Cal. 1900.
* Miss Geneva W. Mower, Mills College, Alameda Co., Cal. 1908.
Prof. George F. Mull, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa. 1896.
* Dr. E. J. Murphy, Tarlac, Tarlac Province, Philippine Islands. 1900.
* Prof. Augustus T. Murray, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. (Box 112). 1887.
Prof. E. W. Murray, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan. 1907.
Prof. Howard Murray, Dalhousie College, Halifax, N. S. 1907.
Prof. Wilfred P. Mustard, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1892.
Prof. Francis Philip Nash, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y. 1872.
Dr. K. P. R. Neville, Western University, London, Can. 1902.
* Prof. A. G. Newcomer, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Palo Alto, Cal. 1902.

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Dr. Charles B. Newcomer, Transylvania University, Lexington, Ky. (Life member). 1900.
Prof. Barker Newhall, Kenyon College, Gambier, O. 1891.
Prof. Frank W. Nicolson, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. 1888.
Prof. William A. Nitze, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1902.
Prof. Paul Nixon, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. 1907.
* Prof. George R. Noyes, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2249 College Ave.). 1901.
* Prof. H. C. Nutting, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (Box 272). 1900.
Prof. Marbury B. Ogle, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt. 1907.
Prof. George N. Olcott, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. (438 W. 116th St.). 1899.
Prof. William Abbott Oldfather, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. (1736 Ridge Ave.). 1908.
Prof. Samuel Grant Oliphant, Olivet College, Olivet, Mich. 1907.
* Dr. Andrew Oliver, 1613 Belmont Ave., Seattle, Wash. 1900.
Prof. Edward T. Owen, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1896.
Prof. W. B. Owen, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. 1875.
Prof. William A. Packard, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1872.
Prof. Elizabeth H. Palmer, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1902.
Prof. Charles P. Parker, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (1075 Massachusetts Ave.). 1884.
* Clarence Paschall, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2736 Parker St.). 1903.
Prof. James M. Paton, care of Morgan, Harjes et Cie., Bd. Haussmann, Paris. 1887.
John Patterson, University of Louisville, Louisville, Ky. (1117 Fourth St.). 1900.
Dr. Charles Peabody, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. (197 Brattle Street, Cambridge, Mass.). 1894.
Dr. Mary Bradford Peaks, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1905.
Prof. Arthur Stanley Pease, University of Illinois, Champaign, Ill. 1906.
Prof. E. M. Pease, 31 E. 17th St., New York, N. Y. 1887.
Prof. Tracy Peck, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1871.
Miss Frances Pellett, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. (Kelly Hall). 1893.
Dr. Daniel A. Penick, University of Texas, Austin, Tex. 1902.
Prof. Charles W. Peppler, Emory College, Oxford, Ga. 1899.
Dr. Elizabeth Mary Perkins, 1355 Irving St., Washington, D. C. 1904.
Prof. Emma M. Perkins, Western Reserve University (College for Women), Cleveland, O. 1892.
Prof. Bernadotte Perrin, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (191 Farnam Hall). 1879.
Prof. Edward D. Perry, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1882.
* Dr. Torsten Petersson, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1905.
Prof. John Pickard, University of the State of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1893.
* Dr. W. R. Pinger, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2551 Benvenue Ave.). 1908.
Dr. William Taggard Piper, 179 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1885.
Prof. Perley Oakland Place, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1906.

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Prof. Samuel Ball Platner, Adelbert College of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O. (2033 Cornell Rd.). 1885.

* Dr. William Popper, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2326 Russell St.). 1905.

Prof. William Porter, Beloit College, Beloit, Wis. 1888.

Prof. Edwin Post, De Pauw University, Greencastle, Ind. 1886.

Prof. Franklin H. Potter, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. 1898.

Henry Preble, 42 Stuyvesant Place, New Brighton, S. I., N. Y. 1882.

Prof. William K. Prentice, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1895.

Prof. Henry W. Prescott, University of Chicago, Chicago. Ill. 1899.

* Prof. Clifton Price, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (University Terrace). 1899.

Prof. Ferris W. Price, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa. 1895.

Prof. Benjamin F. Prince, Wittenberg College, Springfield, O. 1893.

* E. K. Putnam, Davenport, Ia. 1901.

Prof. Robert S. Radford, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn. 1900.

Prof. Edward Kennard Rand, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (104 Lake View Ave.). 1902.

Prof. Charles B. Randolph, Clark College, Worcester, Mass. 1905.

Prof. Edwin Moore Rankin, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1905.

* Miss Cecilia Raymond, Berkeley, Cal. (2407 S. Atherton St.). 1900.

Prof. John W. Redd, Centre College, Danville, Ky. 1885.

Dr. Kelley Rees, 319 Willow St., New Haven, Conn. 1909.

Prof. A. G. Rembert, Woford College, Spartanburg, S. C. 1902.

* Prof. Karl G. Rendtorff, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Palo Alto, Cal. (1130 Bryant St.). 1900.

Prof. Horatio M. Reynolds, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (85 Trumbull St.). 1884.

* Prof. Leon J. Richardson, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1895.

Ernest H. Riedel, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1908.

Dr. Ernst Riess, Boys' High School, Brooklyn, N. Y. (221 W. 113th St., N. Y.). 1895.

Prof. Edmund Y. Robbins, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1895.

Prof. David M. Robinson, American School of Classical Studies, Athens, Greece. 1905.

Dr. James J. Robinson, Hotchkiss School, Lakeville, Conn. 1902.

Prof. W. A. Robinson, Lawrenceville School, Lawrenceville, N. J. 1888.

Prof. Joseph C. Rockwell, Buchtel College, Akron, O. 1896.

Prof. Frank Ernest Rockwood, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa. 1885.

George B. Rogers, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. 1902.

Prof. John C. Rolfe, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.

C. A. Rosegrant, Potsdam State Normal School, Potsdam, N. Y. 1902.

Prof. Clarence F. Ross, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa. 1902.

Martin L. Rouse, 39½ Buchanan St., Toronto, Can. 1908.

Prof. August Rupp, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. 1902.

* Dr. Arthur W. Ryder, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2337 Telegraph Ave.). 1902.

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Dr. Julius Sachs, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. (149 West 81st St.). 1875.

Benjamin H. Sanborn, Wellesley, Mass. 1890.

Prof. Henry A. Sanders, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. (1227 Washtenaw Ave.). 1899.

Prof. Myron R. Sanford, Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt. 1894.

Miss Catharine Saunders, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1900.

Joseph H. Sawyer, Williston Seminary, Easthampton, Mass. 1897.

Pres. W. S. Scarborough, Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, O. 1882.

* Prof. H. K. Schilling, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2316 Le Conte Ave.). 1901.

Prof. J. J. Schlicher, State Normal School, Terre Haute, Ind. 1901.

Dr. Charles P. G. Scott, 150 Woodworth Ave., Yonkers, N. Y. 1880.

Prof. John Adams Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. (2040 Orrington Ave.). 1898.

Prof. Henry S. Scribner, Western University of Pennsylvania, Allegheny City, Pa. 1889.

* Prof. Colbert Searles, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. (Box 40). 1901.

Prof. Helen M. Searles, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1893.

Charles D. Seely, State Normal School, Brockport, N. Y. 1888.

* Prof. Henry Senger, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (1429 Spruce St.). 1900.

J. B. Sewall, Brandon Hall, Brookline, Mass. 1871.

* S. S. Seward, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. (Box 771). 1902.

Prof. R. H. Sharp, Jr., Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va. (College Park P.O.). 1897.

George M. Sharrard, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. 1908.

J. A. Shaw, Highland Military Academy, Worcester, Mass. 1876.

Dr. T. Leslie Shear, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1906.

Prof. Edward S. Sheldon, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (11 Francis Ave.). 1881.

Prof. F. W. Shipley, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1900.

Prof. Paul Shorey, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1887.

Prof. Grant Showerman, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1900.

Dr. Edgar S. Shumway, Manual Training High School, Brooklyn, N. Y. (472 E. 18th St.). 1885.

Prof. E. G. Sihler, New York University, University Heights, New York, N. Y. 1876.

Prof. Kenneth C. M. Sills, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. 1906.

Rev. John Alfred Silsby, Shanghai, China. 1907.

Prof. Charles F. Sitterly, Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J. 1902.

* Prof. Macy M. Skinner, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Stanford University, Cal. 1906.

Prof. Moses Stephen Slaughter, American School of Classical Studies, Rome, Italy (Via Vicenza 5). 1887.

Pres. Andrew Sledd, University of Florida, Lake City, Fla. 1904.

Prof. Charles N. Smiley, Iowa College, Grinnell, Ia. 1907.

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Prof. Charles Forster Smith, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1883.
Prof. Charles S. Smith, The George Washington University, Washington, D. C. (2122 H St.). 1895.
Prof. Clement L. Smith, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1882.
G. Oswald Smith, University College, Toronto, Can. 1908.
Prof. Harry de Forest Smith, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1899.
Prof. Josiah R. Smith, Ohio State University, Columbus, O. (950 Madison Ave.). 1885.
Prof. Kirby F. Smith, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1897.
Prof. Herbert Weir Smyth, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (91 Walker St.). 1886.
Dr. George C. S. Southworth, Gambier, O. 1883.
Prof. Edward H. Spieker, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. (915 Edmondson Ave.). 1884.
Dr. Sidney G. Stacey, Erasmus Hall High School, Brooklyn, N. Y. (177 Woodruff Ave.). 1901.
Miss Josephine Stary, Fuller Building, Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1899.
Prof. Wallace N. Stearns, Wesley College of North Dakota, Grand Forks, N. D. 1907.
Prof. R. B. Steele, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. (2401 West End). 1893.
Prof. J. R. S. Sterrett, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. (2 South Ave.). 1885.
Prof. Francis H. Stoddard, New York University, University Heights, New York, N. Y. 1890.
Prof. Duane Reed Stuart, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1901.
Dr. E. H. Sturtevant, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. (Sterling Pl., Edgewater, N. J.). 1901.
Prof. William F. Swahlen, De Pauw University, Greencastle, Ind. 1904.
Prof. Frank B. Tarbell, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1882.
Prof. Julian D. Taylor, Colby University, Waterville, Me. 1890.
Prof. Glanville Terrell, Georgetown College, Georgetown, Ky. 1898.
* Reuben C. Thompson, University of Nevada, Reno, Nev. 1908.
Prof. William E. Thompson, Hamline University, St. Paul, Minn. 1877.
* Prof. David Thomson, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1902.
Dr. George R. Throop, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1907.
Dr. Charles H. Thurber, 29 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1901.
Prof. FitzGerald Tisdall, College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y. 1889.
Prof. Henry A. Todd, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1887.
Prof. Herbert Cushing Tolman, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 1889.
Prof. Edward M. Tomlinson, Alfred University, Alfred, N. Y. 1885.
Prof. William W. Troup, Westminster College, New Wilmington, Pa. 1907.
Prof. J. A. Tufts, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H. 1898.
Prof. Esther B. Van Deman, American School of Classical Studies, Rome, Italy (Via Vicenza 5). 1899.
Dr. Harry Brown Van Deventer, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1907.
Prof. LaRue Van Hook, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1905.
Addison Van Name, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (121 High St.). 1869.

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Prof. N. P. Vlachos, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.
Prof. Frank Vogel, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass. 1904.
Dr. W. H. Wait, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1893.
Miss Mary V. Waite, Sage College, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1908.
Dr. John W. H. Walden, 13 Mt. Auburn St., Cambridge, Mass. 1889.
Prof. Arthur T. Walker, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan. 1895.
Dr. Alice Walton, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1894.
Prof. Harry Barnes Ward, Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y. 1905.
Dr. Edwin G. Warner, Polytechnic Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y. (56 Montgomery Place). 1897.
Andrew McCorrie Warren, care of Brown, Shipley & Co., Founders' Court, London. 1892.
* Oliver M. Washburn, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (Faculty Club). 1908.
Prof. William E. Waters, New York University, University Heights, N. Y. (604 West 115th St.). 1885.
Dr. John C. Watson, Minot, N. D. (R. F. D. 2). 1902.
Dr. Helen L. Webster, Farmington, Conn. 1890.
Prof. Raymond Weeks, University of Illinois, Champaign, Ill. 1902.
Prof. Charles Heald Weller, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa. 1903.
Prof. Andrew F. West, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1886.
Prof. J. H. Westcott, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1891.
Prof. J. B. Weston, Christian Biblical Institute, Stanfordville, N. Y. 1869.
Prof. Monroe Nichols Wetmore, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1906.
Prof. L. B. Wharton, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va. 1888.
Prof. Arthur L. Wheeler, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1899.
* Pres. Benjamin Ide Wheeler, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1879.
Prof. James R. Wheeler, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1885.
Prof. G. M. Whicher, Normal College, New York, N. Y. (507 West 111th St.). 1891.
Dr. Andrew C. White, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. (424 Dryden Road). 1886.
Prof. John Williams White, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (18 Concord Ave.). 1874.
Miss Mabel Whiteside, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, College Park, Va. 1906.
* Prof. Edward A. Wicher, San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Anselmo, Cal. 1906.
Vice-Chancellor B. Lawton Wiggins, University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn. 1892.
Prof. Alexander M. Wilcox, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan. 1884.
Prof. Henry D. Wild, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1898.
Charles R. Williams, Indianapolis, Ind. (1005 N. Meridian St.). 1887.
Prof. George A. Williams, Kalamazoo College, Kalamazoo, Mich. (136 Thompson St.). 1891.
Prof. Mary G. Williams, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1899.
Dr. Gwendolen B. Willis, Milwaukee-Downer College, Milwaukee, Wis. 1906.
Prof. Harry Langford Wilson, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1898.

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Dr. John G. Winter, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1906.
* Dr. F. Winther, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. (2222 Dana St.). 1907.
Prof. Henry Wood, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1884.
John Neville Woodcock, Trinity College, Toronto, Can. 1908.
Prof. Willis Patten Woodman, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y. 1901.
Prof. Frank E. Woodruff, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me. 1887.
C. C. Wright, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. 1902.
Prof. Ellsworth D. Wright, Lawrence College, Appleton, Wis. 1898.
Prof. Henry B. Wright, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (86 Connecticut Hall). 1903.
Prof. Henry P. Wright, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. (128 York St.). 1883.
Herbert H. Yeames, Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y. 1906.
Prof. Clarence H. Young, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. (312 West 88th St.). 1890.
Mrs. Richard Mortimer Young, National Cathedral School, Washington, D. C. 1906.

[Number of Members, 608]

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Chicago, Ill.: The Newberry Library.
Chicago, Ill.: Public Library.
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Columbus, O.: Ohio State University Library.
Crawfordsville, Ind.: Wabash College Library.
Detroit, Mich.: Public Library.
Easton, Pa.: Lafayette College Library.
Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Library.
Gambier, O.: Kenyon College Library.
Greencastle, Ind.: Library of De Pauw University.
Hanover, N. H.: Dartmouth College Library.
Iowa City, Ia.: Library of the State University of Iowa.
Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Library.
Lincoln, Neb.: Library of the State University of Nebraska.
Marietta, O.: Marietta College Library.
Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Library.
Milwaukee, Wis.: Public Library.
Minneapolis, Minn.: Athenæum Library.
Minneapolis, Minn.: Library of the University of Minnesota.
Nashville, Tenn.: Vanderbilt University Library.
Newton Centre, Mass.: Library of Newton Theological Institution.
New York, N. Y.: New York Public Library.
New York, N. Y.: Library of Columbia University.
New York, N. Y.: Library of the College of the City of New York.
New York, N. Y.: Union Theological Seminary Library (700 Park Ave.).
Olivet, Mich.: Olivet College Library.
Philadelphia, Pa.: American Philosophical Society.
Philadelphia, Pa.: The Library Company of Philadelphia.
Philadelphia, Pa.: The Mercantile Library.

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Philadelphia, Pa.: University of Pennsylvania Library.
Pittsburg, Pa.: Carnegie Library.
Poughkeepsie, N. Y.: Vassar College Library.
Providence, R. I.: Brown University Library.
Rochester, N. Y.: Rochester University Library.
Stanford University, Cal.: Leland Stanford Jr. University Library.
Tokio, Japan: Library of the Imperial University.
Toronto, Can.: University of Toronto Library.
Tufts College, Mass.: Tufts College Library.
University of Virginia, Va.: University Library.
Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Library.
Washington, D. C.: Library of the Catholic University of America.
Washington, D. C.: United States Bureau of Education.
Wellesley, Mass.: Wellesley College Library.
Worcester, Mass.: Free Public Library. [60]

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Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.
American School of Classical Studies, Athens.
American School of Classical Studies, Rome (Via Vicenza 5).
British Museum, London.
Royal Asiatic Society, London.
Philological Society, London.
Society of Biblical Archæology, London.
Indian Office Library, London.
Bodleian Library, Oxford.
University Library, Cambridge, England.
Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, Scotland.
Trinity College Library, Dublin, Ireland.
Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Shanghai.
Japan Asiatic Society, Yokohama.
Public Library of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia.
Sir George Grey's Library, Cape Town, Africa.
Reykjavik College Library, Iceland.
University of Christiania, Norway.
University of Upsala, Sweden.
Stadsbiblioteket, Göteborg, Sweden.
Russian Imperial Academy, St. Petersburg.
Austrian Imperial Academy, Vienna.
Anthropologische Gesellschaft, Vienna.
Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence.
Reale Accademia delle Scienze, Turin.
Société Asiatique, Paris.

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Athénée Oriental, Louvain, Belgium.
Curatorium of the University, Leyden, Holland.
Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia, Java.
Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences, Berlin.
Royal Saxon Academy of Sciences, Leipsic.
Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences, Munich.
Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Halle.
Library of the University of Bonn.
Library of the University of Freiburg in Baden.
Library of the University of Giessen.
Library of the University of Jena.
Library of the University of Königsberg.
Library of the University of Leipsic.
Library of the University of Toulouse.
Library of the University of Tübingen.
Imperial Ottoman Museum, Constantinople. [44]

TO THE FOLLOWING JOURNALS THE TRANSACTIONS ARE ANNUALLY SENT, GRATIS OR BY EXCHANGE

The Nation.
Journal of the American Oriental Society.
Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.
Classical Philology.
Modern Philology.
The Classical Journal.

Athenæum, London.
Classical Review, London.
Revue Critique, 28 Rue Bonaparte, Paris.
Revue de Philologie, Paris (Adrien Krebs, 11 Rue de Lille).
Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique, à la Sorbonne, Paris.
Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift, Berlin.
Deutsche Litteraturzeitung, Berlin.
Indogermanische Forschungen, Strassburg (K. J. Trübner).
Literarisches Centralblatt, Leipsic.
Musée Belge, Liège, Belgium (Prof. Waltzing, 9 Rue du Parc).
Neue philologische Rundschau, Gotha (F. A. Perthes).
Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie, Berlin.
Rivista di Filologia, Turin (Ermanno Loescher).
Bolletino di Filologia Classica, Via Vittorio Amadeo ii, Turin.
Biblioteca delle Scuole Italiane, Naples (Dr. A. G. Amatucci, Corso Umberto I, 106).
Zeitschrift für die österr. Gymnasien, Vienna (Prof. J. Golling, Maximilians-Gymnasium).
L'Université Catholique, Lyons (Prof. A. Lepitre, 10 Avenue de Noailles).
La Cultura, Rome, Via dei Sediari 16A. [24]

[Total (608 + 60 + 44 + 24) = 736]

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CONSTITUTION

OF THE

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION[1]

Article I. — Name and Object

1. This Society shall be known as "The American Philological Association."

2. Its object shall be the advancement and diffusion of philological knowledge.

Article II. — Officers

1. The officers shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and Curator, and a Treasurer.

2. There shall be an Executive Committee of ten, composed of the above officers and five other members of the Association.

3. All the above officers shall be elected at the last session of each annual meeting.

4. An Assistant Secretary, and an Assistant Treasurer, may be elected at the first session of each annual meeting, on the nomination of the Secretary and the Treasurer respectively.

Article III. — Meetings

1. There shall be an annual meeting of the Association in the city of New York, or at such other place as at a preceding annual meeting shall be determined upon.

2. At the annual meeting, the Executive Committee shall present an annual report of the progress of the Association.

3. The general arrangements of the proceedings of the annual meeting shall be directed by the Executive Committee.

4. Special meetings may be held at the call of the Executive Committee, when and where they may decide.

Article IV. — Members

1. Any lover of philological studies may become a member of the Association by a vote of the Executive Committee and the payment of five dollars as initiation fee, which initiation fee shall be considered the first regular annual fee.

[1] As amended December 28, 1907.

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2. There shall be an annual fee of three dollars from each member, failure in payment of which for two years shall *ipso facto* cause the membership to cease.

3. Any person may become a life member of the Association by the payment of fifty dollars to its treasury, and by vote of the Executive Committee.

Article V. — Sundries

1. All papers intended to be read before the Association must be submitted to the Executive Committee before reading, and their decision regarding such papers shall be final.

2. Publications of the Association, of whatever kind, shall be made only under the authorization of the Executive Committee.

Article VI. — Amendments

Amendments to this Constitution may be made by a vote of two-thirds of those present at any regular meeting subsequent to that in which they have been proposed.

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ADMINISTRATIVE RESOLUTIONS

CERTAIN matters of administration not specifically provided for in the Constitution have been determined from time to time by special votes of the Association, or of its Executive Committee. The more important of these actions still in force are as follows: —

1. WINTER MEETINGS. On September 19, 1904, the Association, which had been accustomed to hold its annual meetings in the month of July, voted, "That, by way of experiment, the next two meetings of the Association be held during Convocation Week in 1905 and 1906" (PROCEEDINGS, XXXV, li). At the second of the annual meetings under this vote, held at Washington, January 2–4, 1907, it was voted "That until further notice the Association continue the practice of a winter meeting, to be held between Christmas and New Year's, if possible in conjunction with the Archaeological Institute of America" (XXXVII, xi).

2. NOMINATING COMMITTEE. On July 8, 1903, the Association, in session at New Haven, voted to establish a permanent Nominating Committee of five members, one of whom retires each year after five years of service, and is replaced by a successor named by the President of the Association. In accordance with the terms of the vote in question the standing Committee on Nominations was confirmed by the Association at the Toronto meeting (XXXIV, xix, xlvi; XXXIX, xii). The present membership of the Committee is as follows: —

Professor Martin L. D'Ooge, *Chairman*.
Professor Herbert Weir Smyth.
Professor Samuel Ball Platner.
Professor Edward Capps.
Professor Elmer Truesdell Merrill.

3. PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST. On July 5, 1900, the Association, in session at Madison, accepted the recommendation of the Executive Committee defining the terms of affiliation between the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast and the American Philological Association (XXXI, xxix; cf. XXXII, lxxii).

4. SALARY OF THE SECRETARY AND TREASURER. In July, 1901, the Executive Committee fixed the salary of the Secretary and Treasurer at $300, to include any outlay for clerical assistance (XXXII, lxxii).

5. PUBLISHING CONTRACT. The contract with Messrs. Ginn & Co. has been renewed July 1, 1906, by authority of the Executive Committee, on the same terms as for the preceding lustrum (cf. XXXII, lxxii).

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PUBLICATIONS OF THE ASSOCIATION

THE annually published PROCEEDINGS of the American Philological Association contain, in their present form, the programme and minutes of the annual meeting, brief abstracts of papers read, reports upon the progress of the Association, and lists of its officers and members.

The annually published TRANSACTIONS give the full text of such articles as the Executive Committee decides to publish. The PROCEEDINGS are bound with them as an Appendix.

For the contents of Volumes I–XXXIV inclusive, see Volume XXXIV, pp. cxliii ff.

The contents of the last five volumes are as follows: —

1904. — Volume XXXV

Ferguson, W. S.: Historical value of the twelfth chapter of Plutarch's Life of Pericles.
Botsford, G. W.: On the distinction between *Comitia* and *Concilium*.
Radford, R. S.: Studies in Latin accent and metric.
Johnson, C. W. L.: The *Accentus* of the ancient Latin grammarians.
Bolling, G. M.: The Çāntikalpa of the Atharva-Veda.
Rand, E. K.: Notes on Ovid.
Goebel, J.: The etymology of Mephistopheles.

Proceedings of the thirty-sixth annual meeting, St. Louis, 1904.
Proceedings of the fifth and sixth annual meetings of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, San Francisco, 1903, 1904.

1905. — Volume XXXVI

Sanders, H. A.: The Oxyrhynchus epitome of Livy and Reinhold's lost chronicon.
Meader, C. L.: Types of sentence structure in Latin prose writers.
Stuart, D. R.: The reputed influence of the *dies natalis* in determining the inscription of restored temples.
Bennett, C. E.: The ablative of association.
Harkness, A. G.: The relation of accent to elision in Latin verse.
Bassett, S. E.: Notes on the bucolic diaeresis.
Watson, J. C.: Donatus's version of the Terence *didascaliae*.

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Radford, R. S.: Plautine synizesis.
Kelsey, F. W.: The title of Caesar's work.

Proceedings of the thirty-seventh annual meeting, Ithaca, N. Y., 1905.
Proceedings of the seventh annual meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, San Francisco, 1905.

1906. — Volume XXXVII

Fay, E. W.: Latin word-studies.
Perrin, B.: The death of Alcibiades.
Kent, R. G.: The time element in the Greek drama.
Harry, J. E.: The perfect forms in later Greek.
Anderson, A. R.: *Ei*-readings in the Mss of Plautus.
Hopkins, E. W.: The Vedic dative reconsidered.
McDaniel, W. B.: Some passages concerning ball-games.
Murray, A. T.: The bucolic idylls of Theocritus.
Harkness, A. G.: Pause-elision and hiatus in Plautus and Terence.
Cary, E.: Codex Γ of Aristophanes.

Proceedings of the thirty-eighth annual meeting, Washington, D. C., 1907.
Proceedings of the eighth annual meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, Berkeley, 1906.
Appendix — Report on the New Phonetic Alphabet.

1907. — Volume XXXVIII

Pease, A. S.: Notes on stoning among the Greeks and Romans.
Bradley, C. B.: Indications of a consonant-shift in Siamese.
Martin, E. W.: *Ruscinia.*
Van Hook, L. R.: Criticism of Photius on the Attic orators.
Abbott, F. F.: The theatre as a factor in Roman politics.
Shorey, P.: Choriambic dimeter.
Manly, J. M.: A knight ther was.
Moore, C. H.: Oriental cults in Gaul.

Proceedings of the thirty-ninth annual meeting, Chicago, Ill., 1907.
Proceedings of the ninth annual meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, Stanford University, 1907.

1908. — Volume XXXIX

Spieker, E. H.: Dactyl after initial trochee in Greek lyric verse.
Laing, G. J.: Roman milestones and the *capita viarum.*
Bonner, C.: Notes on a certain use of the reed.
Oldfather, W. A.: Livy i, 26 and the *supplicium de more maiorum.*
Hadzsits, G. D.: Worship and prayer among the Epicureans.
Anderson, W. B.: Contributions to the study of the ninth book of Livy.
Hempl, G.: Linguistic and ethnografic status of the Burgundians.
Miller, C. W. E.: On τὸ δέ = whereas.

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Proceedings of the fortieth annual meeting, Toronto, Can., 1908.
Proceedings of the tenth annual meeting of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, San Francisco, 1908.

The Proceedings of the American Philological Association are distributed gratis upon application to the Secretary or to the Publishers until they are out of print.

Fifty separate copies of articles printed in the Transactions, ten of articles printed in the Proceedings, are given to the authors for distribution. Additional copies will be furnished at cost.

The "Transactions *for*" any given year are not always published in that year. To avoid mistakes in ordering back volumes, please state — not the year of publication, but rather — the year *for* which the Transactions are desired, adding also the volume-number, according to the following table: —

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"	"	1872	"	"	III	"	"	1891	"	"	XXII
"	"	1873	"	"	IV	"	"	1892	"	"	XXIII
"	"	1874	"	"	V	"	"	1893	"	"	XXIV
"	"	1875	"	"	VI	"	"	1894	"	"	XXV
"	"	1876	"	"	VII	"	"	1895	"	"	XXVI
"	"	1877	"	"	VIII	"	"	1896	"	"	XXVII
"	"	1878	"	"	IX	"	"	1897	"	"	XXVIII
"	"	1879	"	"	X	"	"	1898	"	"	XXIX
"	"	1880	"	"	XI	"	"	1899	"	"	XXX
"	"	1881	"	"	XII	"	"	1900	"	"	XXXI
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